

THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM LIBRARY

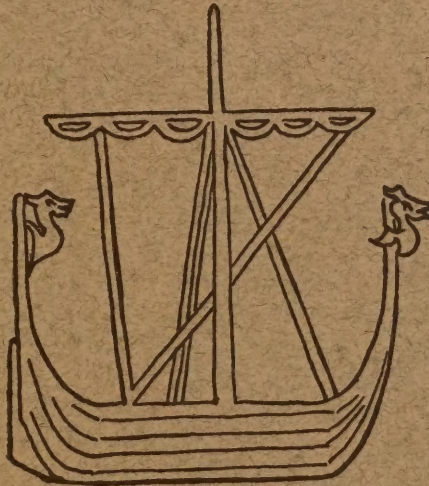
Vol. VI

No. 1

The Art Bulletin

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY THE

College Art Association
Of America



SEPTEMBER

NINETEEN HUNDRED TWENTY-THREE

One dollar a copy

Three dollars a volume

BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE

Entered as second-class matter December 3, 1919, at the Post Office
at Providence, Rhode Island, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

The Art Bulletin

An illustrated quarterly published by the

COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Members of the College Art Association receive The Art Bulletin.

Life membership is open to all; the fee is one hundred dollars.

Sustaining membership is open to all; the annual fee is ten dollars.

Associate membership, or subscription to The Art Bulletin, is open to all; the annual fee is three dollars.

Active membership is open to those engaged in art education; the annual fee is five dollars.

The College Art Association year extends from May to May. All subscriptions to The Art Bulletin begin with the first number of the current volume.

Address all communications to

COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

The thirteenth annual meeting of the College Art Association of America will be held at Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, December 27-29, 1923. All correspondence in regard to the program or other details of the meeting should be addressed to

John Shapley, President

College Art Association of America

Brown University, Providence

The Art Bulletin

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY THE

College Art Association of America

Editor

JOHN SHAPLEY

Editorial Board

DAVID M. ROBINSON, *Chairman*

ALFRED M. BROOKS

JOHN PICKARD

FRANK J. MATHER

ARTHUR K. PORTER

CHARLES R. MOREY

PAUL J. SACHS

CONTENTS

SEPTEMBER MCMXXIII

| | Page |
|---|------|
| THE ORIGIN AND DATE OF THE BAYEUX EMBROIDERY, BY ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS | 3 |
| PRESENT DAY ART IN THE SOUTH: CAUSE AND EFFECT, BY ELLSWORTH WOODWARD | 8 |
| MEDIEVAL TEXTILES OF SWEDEN, BY M. S. DIMAND | 11 |
| THE ART DIVISION OF THE AMERICAN CERAMIC SOCIETY, BY EDWIN M. BLAKE | 17 |
| REVIEWS | 20 |



FIG. 1—BAYEUX, EPISCOPAL PALACE: AELFGYVA AND THE CLERIC.
DETAIL FROM THE BAYEUX EMBROIDERY



FIG. 2—BAYEUX, EPISCOPAL PALACE: GROUP OF WARRIORS.
DETAIL FROM THE BAYEUX EMBROIDERY



FIG. 3—BAYEUX, EPISCOPAL PALACE: GROUP OF KNIGHTS.
DETAIL FROM THE BAYEUX EMBROIDERY

The Origin and Date of the Bayeux Embroidery

BY ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS

DOUTBLESS Philippe Lauer, the distinguished savant of the Bibliothèque Nationale, expressed a common belief when in reference to the Bayeux "Tapestry" he spoke of "the exceptional and unique character, in an age destitute of industry, of a work of consummate patience and art." Yet one may well wonder whether the Dark Ages were destitute of industry and whether the Bayeux Embroidery was an unrivalled prodigy. With all due deference to M. Lauer's opinion, I hope to show that the Anglo-Saxons produced fine needlework in large quantities, and that as a representative of their art the historical hanging at Bayeux is unique only in surviving.

It was a well established custom among the Teutonic tribes after the Migrations to commemorate their exploits by elaborate paintings, sculptures, or embroideries. This habit, originating in a universal instinct, was doubtless stimulated by contact with the imposing memorials of the triumphs of Rome. About the year 600 Queen Theodolinda caused to be painted in her palace at Monza "aliquid de Langobardorum gestis." In the great council chamber of Louis the Pious at Ingelheim there was a series of historical paintings culminating in the deeds of Charles Martel and Pepin and in the coronation and wars of Charlemagne. King Henry I of Germany had painted, in the hall at Merseburg, his victory over the Hungarians in 933. Aethelflaed, widow of Brihtnoth, Earl of the East Saxons, who fell at Maldon in 991, embroidered a record of his deeds and presented it to the church at Ely.¹

This historical embroidery at Ely is the closest parallel to that still preserved at Bayeux. But Aethelflaed is only one of the multitude of English needlewomen whose work was famous throughout Europe from the tenth to the fourteenth century.² Particularly pertinent to the study of the Bayeux Embroidery is the fact that in Domesday Book a certain Leviede (Anglo-Saxon Leofgyth) is named as embroidress to the King and Queen, and that the Queen in her will mentions a tunic made at Winchester by Alderet's wife. Evidently William and Matilda showed a partiality for Anglo-Saxon needlework; and there is an antecedent probability that other Normans would have shared their taste.

In the case of the Bayeux Embroidery this presupposition is fully confirmed by the character of the inscriptions. They could have been written only by an Anglo-Saxon. The very name which is given to the town of Bayeux is one which is never found in contemporary Norman documents, where it is always "Baiocæ." The form "Bagias" found on the embroidery is paralleled only by the word "Bagiensi" on a fourth-century salver dug up in England.³ The particular form of the letter *thorn* (reproduced as the initial D at the head of this article) is restricted to Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian usage. But the words "at Hestenga" and "Ceastra" clinch the matter.⁴ Note the English word "at," and the

¹Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XCV, 551; CV, 624; CXXXVI, 823; *Historia Eliensis*, ed. Wharton, Book II, ch. 6. The authority for the frequently cited gift to Croyland Abbey of a *velum* showing the destruction of Troy is the quite unreliable Pseudo-Ingulph. Equally suspect is the citation of Charlemagne's paintings at Aix from the Pseudo-Turpin.

²A. F. Kendrick, *English Embroidery*, 6-19. F. X. Michel, *Recherches sur le commerce, la fabrication, et l'usage des étoffes de soie, d'or, et d'argent*, II, 338-43.

³J. Spencer Smythe, *Description d'un monument arabe* (Extract from *Procès verbal, Académie royale des sciences etc., de Caen*, 1820), 6. H. Prentout, *Essai sur les origines et la fondation du Duché de Normandie*, 40 f.

⁴These forms are certainly authentic, for they appear in the earliest plates: *Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, VIII, 650.

characteristically Anglo-Saxon splitting of the vowel in "Ceastra." Then read this extract from a lease of the year 969: "In Wiogorna *ceastre* terram aliquam juris nostri, id est quattuor mansas *æt* Saperetun swa Alhstan hit hæfde, concedo Eadrigo ministro meo."¹ The question of Anglo-Saxon provenance would have been settled long ago had not the ingenious M. Delauney pointed out in 1824 that there was once a Saxon colony at Bayeux called the Saxones Baiocassini. Now these Saxon settlers at Bayeux are not, as one might suppose from the readiness with which their claims have been allowed, famous for their skill in needlework. They are known to us only through the fact that Gregory of Tours mentions them twice under the dates 578 and 590 as being slaughtered in great numbers. Two French scholars, M. Prentout and M. Joret, who have recently investigated the subject, have found scarcely a trace of them since that date.² Apparently the slaughter was almost complete. Certainly no one has yet produced any documents from the Bayeux district in which Saxon words intrude among the Latin. Yet for the last hundred years the credit of producing the monumental embroidery has been quite generally conceded, though not by any trained historian or linguist, to the Saxones Baiocassini. Is it necessary to mention another theory seriously put forward not many years ago to the effect that the peculiarities of the inscriptions were introduced, together with "those pictorial details where Art leaves off and the Police come in," by some waggish French restorer of the embroidery?³ Of course, his only purpose could have been to keep his compatriots busy explaining away the proofs of English provenance and the signs of Queen Matilda's erotic imagination! How he must have chuckled over his success—if he had ever existed. But alas! such delightful persons exist only in the pages of Rabelais, Voltaire, and Anatole France.

There is one serious argument against an Anglo-Saxon origin. The drawing does not show that gusty treatment of drapery, that accentuation of the wrinkles which, emanating from the school of Rheims, became so characteristic of Anglo-Saxon illumination. Two replies are possible. First, that Continental influences had for many years before the Conquest shown themselves in architecture and calligraphy; and the New Minster psalter of about 1060⁴ shows those influences at work in the plastic arts, for its illumination no longer flutters and crinkles in the earlier manner. A second possible answer is that though the manner of Rheims may have been generally adopted by Anglo-Saxon illuminators, we are not forced to believe that it was adopted by other types of draftsmen and designers. In fact, we have conclusive proof that the simpler line coexisted alongside the agitated line. In an interesting Anglo-Saxon paraphrase of the Pentateuch (British Museum, Claudius B iv) we find a number of drawings which as far as outline and treatment of folds are concerned might well have served as designs for the Bayeux Embroidery. But here and there some finical draftsman has "put the style" on the original outlines: the wrinkles multiply and the hems flutter.⁵ The absence of this mannerism in the embroidery does not shake the certainty that the composer of the inscriptions was an Anglo-Saxon.

But the inscriptions are in Latin, and one can be fairly dogmatic in saying that Anglo-Saxon needlewomen were not conversant with Latin. That accomplishment was limited to the clergy. Is it possible that clerics occasionally contributed to those works for which their countrywomen were famous throughout Europe? A visit to an Anglo-Saxon atelier would reveal it as a familiar practice. The life of St. Dunstan, the craftsman

¹W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, III, 530.

²H. Prentout, *op. cit.*, 43-76. C. Joret, *Noms de lieu d'origine non romane*, 14 f.

³*Antiquary*, 1907, 255, 288. Published separately as C. Dawson, *Restorations of the Bayeux Embroidery*.

⁴British Museum, *Schools of Illumination*, I, pl. 16; *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, pl. xxxvii, fig. 20.

⁵E. M. Thompson, *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, pl. 8.

abbot, tells how "a certain noble matron named Aethelwynn summoned him to her with intimate entreaty in order that he might sketch for her various patterns on a stole destined for the service of God, which afterwards she might adorn with gold and gems. When he had come and done this, he brought with him according to custom his lyre, which we call in the language of our fathers a harp, in order that at intervals he might gladden himself and the minds of those who listened. Then one day after dinner, while he, the matron, and her work-maidens were returning to take up their tasks, it happened by a marvelous chance that the harp of the blessed youth, hanging on the wall of the room, of its own accord without being touched, resounded with a loud and joyous twang. . . . When they heard it, he and the matron were struck with fear, the work-maidens quite forgot the work in their hands, and all amazed looked at one another in turn, wondering much what new lesson the miracle might prefigure."¹ Here we have all the factors necessary to the production of such a work as the Embroidery of Bayeux. There is the cleric, experienced in the planning of decorative work and capable of composing inscriptions in Anglo-Latin. There is the matron, who probably selected the dyes and superintended and shared in the actual needlework. Finally, there are the *operatrices*, absolutely essential if such a work as the Bayeux Embroidery was not to consume a generation. In this scene we have, I believe, the clue to the unsolved mystery of Aelfgyva and the cleric (Fig. 1). No one has pretended to have a satisfactory explanation except the late Herr Tavernier, who confidently asserted that Bishop Turolde of Bayeux is here commemorating for the edification of his flock his youthful passion for the king's daughter.² What king? What daughter? What is she, an Anglo-Saxon woman, doing at Duke William's court? Since this explanation requires so much explaining, I trust the field is yet open. Is this not simply a bit of studio scandal? That it is a scandal will hardly be denied by anyone who considers the erotic figures in the lower margin, the attitude of the priest, and the significant omission of the verb. That it is unconnected with the historic events at the Norman court into which it is interjected is most probable since no one has succeeded in connecting them. That here are precisely the elements for scandal that an Anglo-Saxon workshop would furnish is certain. That a classic regard for unity or a Puritan delicacy was not so universal among mediæval clerics and matrons as to preclude their indulging this ribald jest at the expense of their love-smitten coworkers is equally certain. And though the patrons who ordered the embroidery were no better acquainted with Aelfgyva than we, yet being better acquainted with the ways of the contemporary Latin Quarter and being as careless of the unities as the artists themselves, they probably did not require two centuries of cogitation to guess her story.

In speaking of patrons, instead of a patron, I am joining issue with the great scholars, Freeman, Round, Prentout, Haskins, who have concurred in assigning this rôle to Bishop Odo alone. They may be right; yet I cannot help being struck with the way in which Turolde, Wadard, and Vital are played up even more than the bishop's own brothers, Eustace and Robert.³ The latter are introduced only once, and then are merely labeled with their names. On the other hand, Turolde, as Tavernier has shown,⁴ appears four times. A whole sentence is devoted to showing Vital in an important connection with the Conqueror himself. And Wadard is brought forward in a very singular way. We see

¹W. Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, 20 f.

²*Archæological Journal*, 1914, 186, note.

³Lingard, *History of England*, I, Appendix, Note A. D. Rock, *Textile Fabrics, Descriptive Catalogue*, (1870), cxvii.

⁴*Archæological Journal*, 1914, 175, 183 f.

him riding past, apparently more interested in us, the spectators, than in anything that is going on about him. Now this nonchalance is practically unique in the embroidery, which represents an orgy of bustle and agitated concern. If the marked prominence given these three men, vassals of Bishop Odo, does not demonstrate their special interest in the work, it suggests it at least.

But whether Odo was responsible, or his vassals, or both, we can begin to make some inferences as to date. For Odo was imprisoned by King William in 1082, and it is not likely that a representation of the two sharing amicably the glories of the Conquest would have been made after that year. Furthermore, in 1077 Odo dedicated the new cathedral at Bayeux in the presence of the Conqueror and his queen, and we know that it was on the anniversary of this dedication that every year the great hanging was displayed in the cathedral. Delauney's theory that the embroidery was prepared in time for the great occasion in 1077 seems highly probable.

If it be thought that I have assumed too casually, in view of the amount of controversy on the matter, that the embroidery dates from the decade after the Conquest, let me corroborate the point. That the work belongs to the eleventh century Delauney demonstrated by citing the witness of Ordericus Vitalis that the short tunic worn by the embroidered figures was replaced by the long *bliaut* about 1095.¹ A comparison of the costume depicted on the textile with that shown in illuminated manuscripts of known date sends us still further back. Strangely enough, no one has pointed out the close parallels afforded by the magnificent *Commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 8878) executed at the Abbey of St. Sever in Gascony between 1028 and 1072.² Compare a group of warriors (Fig. 4) with a similar group on the embroidery (Fig. 2); allow for the fact that the three kings in the upper row wear the peculiar Spanish crown, and that Norman warriors shaved the backs of their heads; and you will see that the costumes are identical. Tunics, shields, mantles are the same. Again, just as the textile shows some of the Saxons using the round buckler with spiked boss against the Normans with their long shields, so too we find in the Beatus the old-fashioned buckler of the same type (Fig. 5). The manuscript also depicts four knights (Fig. 6), who, in spite of their monstrous steeds, resemble in their equipment those familiar figures of Hastings fight (Fig. 3). The conical helmet with lines converging at the point, the nasal, the saddle with voluted bows are identical. The birnies are of the trousered type which has never been found on any monument of the twelfth century. The birnies of the manuscript differ from those of the embroidery only in covering the chin and the forearms, and would therefore seem to be more advanced than those shown on the Norman knights. Another indication of the early date of the embroidery is the fact that the puzzling rectangular object covering the chests of the knights is to be found elsewhere only, so far as I know, in the Rabanus Maurus manuscript of Monte Cassino, made in 1023.³ After this, is it necessary to refute Mr. Belloc's remarks on the decoration of the shields—remarks calculated to send the College of Heralds into hysterics—or his conflicting statements that the great hanging is "virtually contemporary" with the Conquest and that it is at the same time dependent on Wace's *Roman de Rou*, written after 1160?⁴ Or is it necessary to pick to pieces M. Le Febvre des Noettes' calculation of the date by comparisons with other monuments of even more uncertain date, or to answer his wild dictum that stirrups do not

¹H. F. Delauney, *Origine de la Tapisserie de Bayeux*, 20. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LXIV, 92.

²L. Delisle, *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie*, 129.

³Amelli, *Miniature Sacre e Profane dell'Anno 1023*, pls. CV, CXXVIII.

⁴H. Belloc, *The Book of the Bayeux Tapestry*.

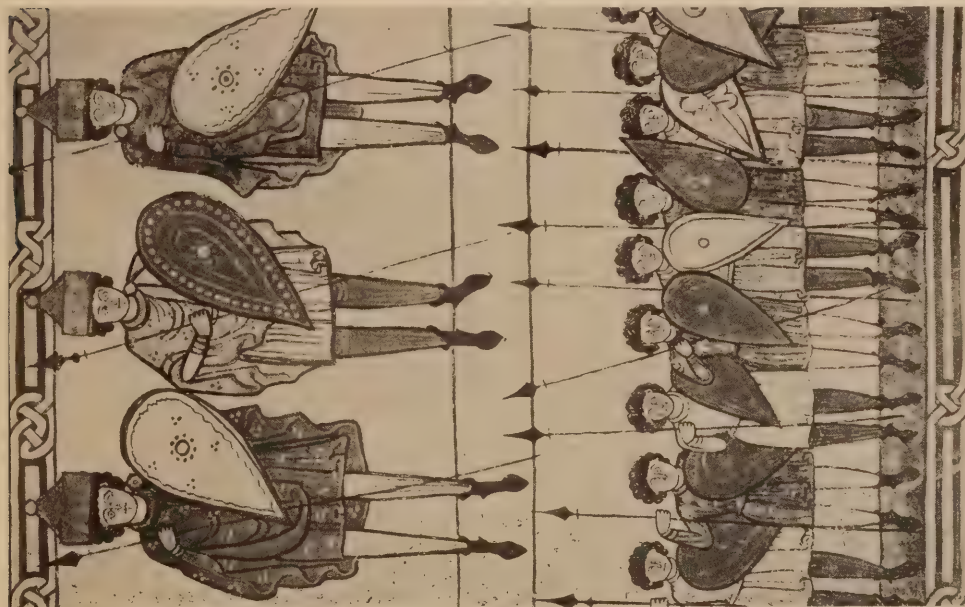


FIG. 4.—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: THREE KINGS AND GROUP OF WARRIORS. DETAIL FROM THE COMMENTARY OF BEATUS ON THE APOCALYPSE, COD. LAT. 887S



FIG. 5.—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: ST. GEORGE. DETAIL FROM THE COMMENTARY OF BEATUS ON THE APOCALYPSE, COD. LAT. 887S

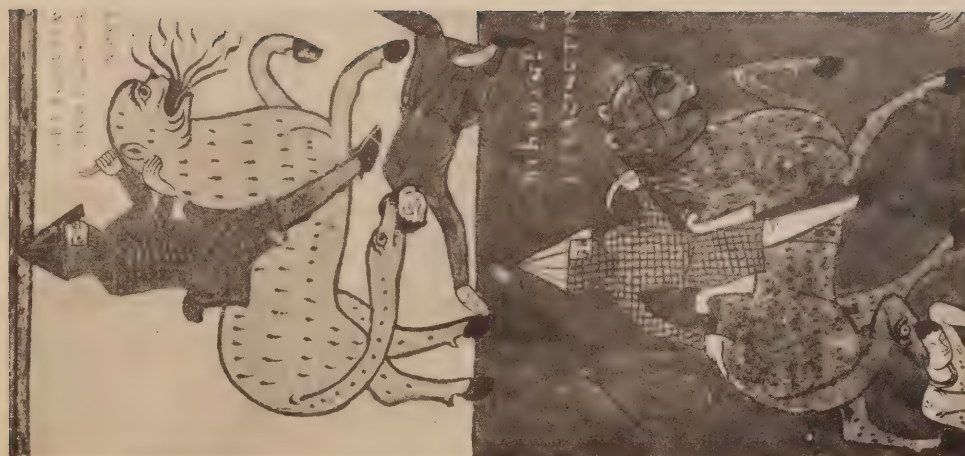


FIG. 6.—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: TWO KNIGHTS. DETAIL FROM THE COMMENTARY OF BEATUS ON THE APOCALYPSE, COD. LAT. 887S

appear until the twelfth century?¹ It would seem not, since there is no sign on the embroidery of the rupture between William and Odo in 1082 and of the latter's consequent disgrace, and since the costume bears so close a resemblance to that depicted in the Beatus manuscript before 1072.²

Furthermore, Guillaume de Poitiers, the Conqueror's chaplain, has a passage so pertinent that one wonders why every commentator on the embroidery has not quoted it. We learn that one of the first acts of King William on his return to Normandy was to distribute lavish gifts to the churches, and, among these, Anglo-Saxon embroideries seem to have been regarded as most precious. The Norman clergy were naturally fervent in welcoming back the victor. "This zeal he rewarded at once," Guillaume says, "with abundant wealth, giving vestments, pounds of gold, and other large offerings to the altars and servants of Christ. . . . He brought to the church at Caen, built . . . in honor of the blessed protomartyr Stephen, divers gifts, most precious in material and craftsmanship. . . . If a Greek or Arab [from Byzantium or Bagdad, which Guillaume knew by reputation as the treasure cities of the world] should travel thither, he would be carried away with the same delight as we. The women of England are very skilled with the needle, as the men excel in every art."³ This narrative, if we substitute Odo or his vassals for King William, and Bayeux for Caen, and allow two or three years for the women to ply their needles, tells us clearly how the great hanging came to adorn Bishop Odo's cathedral.

Apparently when it reached its destination, it was found to be too long. For it has been cut down to fit around the nave. There are three reasons for this conclusion. The present frayed end shows no trace of a side border corresponding to that at the beginning. The designer, who carefully presents Edward enthroned in the first scene and Harold enthroned in the middle, evidently intended to present William enthroned at the end. Finally, the embroidery which belonged to the Conqueror's daughter, Adele of Blois,⁴ must have been either planned by the designer of the Bayeux hanging or else copied from it, since chance cannot explain the fact that every scene is found also at Bayeux except the last two. It therefore follows that these last two were included in the Bayeux hanging before it was cut down. Its fortunes have now been traced from workshop to the cathedral walls, where it was annually hung for centuries to tell how the fair land of England had been won by the prowess of the knights of Normandy.

The embroidery has been so generally treated as a historical document or as an antiquarian curiosity that the man in the street may well sniff at the extravagant praise which contemporaries bestowed upon Anglo-Saxon needlework. The only artistic quality which modern commentators usually concede is the abounding vitality of the illustration. Yet to see the embroidery itself when the sunlight brings out the color and to contrast the old work with the modern restorations is to marvel at the richness and beauty of the original tones. These Anglo-Saxon women were artists in dyeing. Would it not be a well deserved, if tardy, tribute if some publisher were to take advantage of modern processes and reproduce adequately at least a few of the finest scenes? And incidentally, since the latest books on the embroidery are burlesques on archæological scholarship, we might ask for a little sound information along with the colored plates.

¹*Bulletin Monumental*, 1912, 213.

²Professor A. Kingsley Porter, in *Romanesque Sculpture*, I, 66, and Mr. Walter W. S. Cook, in *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia* (*The Art Bulletin*, V, 1923, 95), have already accepted my dating of the Bayeux Embroidery.

³Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXLIX, 1267.

⁴*Mélanges offerts à M. Charles Bémont*, 43.

Present Day Art in the South: Cause and Effect

BY ELLSWORTH WOODWARD

The remarks which I venture to offer in this article are called forth by a clipping from a Boston journal sent to me recently by a friend who feared, I dare say, that I might become forgetful of the situation in which the critical art world holds us of the South.

It appeared that a gentleman described as an "eminent traveler and man of letters" had sojourned for a season in the South, possibly in the hope of improving his digestion and incidentally to observe the cultural aspects of that remote region. I surmise that his health did not improve and that what he saw was not to his taste, for upon his return his feelings found expression in the article clipped for my information.

"The South," he proclaimed, "is as dead and miasmatic as the Dismal Swamp." This happy phrase seemed to encourage him to further flights, for he continued to embroider his message, but upon this I shall not dwell.

We shall not attempt to deny that there is a measure of truth in the observation of our dyspeptic critic—enough to cause a sting—but his unphilosophic and casual mind failed him as the same type of mind has failed other observers of unfamiliar places and peoples.

The situation in the South is sufficiently interesting to warrant the study of social observers; but it does not unfold to the superficial observer, baffled by the absence of familiar symbols and conversational landmarks. I make passing mention only of the tragic dissipation by the Civil War of all material resources, the collapse of social momentum, the isolation of the South for two generations from the stimulating contact of world events. These are reasons for retarded growth in the arts of civilization, but there are others less familiar of which I wish to speak.

Although the South was eliminated as a political force and social example for forty years, her spirit did not suffer eclipse. It not only survived but was intensified in the consciousness of possessing sources of peculiar individuality. This gives point to our regret for the inactivity in art which is apparent, and at the same time stirs hope for her achievements when her rich personality seeks artistic expression, as it surely will. But setting this for the moment to one side, another element calls for attention.

The South is and always has been agricultural and commercial rather than industrial. Such a soil is the least fertile for the development of art. Because the wealth of the section is not invested in competitive manufacture, people here have not been led to a direct appreciation of the value of art commercially. The appreciation of spiritual value in art, the support of art education, the building of art galleries, and the patronage of artists are not likely to be conspicuous in countries or sections of countries that sell raw material and buy back all their finished products.

Economic forces are ponderous and slow of movement, and popular education is even more so. Generations are far more swift. So we witness the phenomenon of southern youth seeking specialized education and, not finding it at home, going to the North or to Europe. And because the opportunity for livelihood and for the exercise of ambition is found lying parallel with the schools, few of these trained children of the South return. The loss is immeasurable—immeasurable because who can compute the potentialities of talent when trained and directed towards the expression of spiritual qualities! Because

the South has neglected art education, she finds herself dumb when she would gladly be eloquent.

This section of our vast common land is conscious of an inheritance of social traditions of honorable history and a background of natural beauty, quite unique and wholly worthy of the world's admiration. How is the world to be impressed? And by whom? It is quite futile to expect a heart symbol interpretative of the sacred essence of patriotism, which is in its last analysis the love of home, to be discovered by a stranger. So extensive in area is our country that a person upreared in one remote section is of necessity a stranger in another. Climate requires a certain manner of life from its inhabitant and imposes upon him an environment that becomes a part of his nature. Environment and inheritance, we are told, are the sum of our determining forces. If art is what we say it is—namely, a means by which true values and emotions find expression—it becomes apparent that we should foster education at home, an education which will put a premium and a fine edge upon the revelation of well-beloved and familiar phenomena of local life. We may freely admit that art is based upon universal principles, but we should not fail to recognize its parochial origin.

Out of this quite obvious situation one road leads and only one—education. What stimulus shall be recognized as best applying to the case?

Specialized art schools will not be greatly increased in the South until industry calls them to its service. Effective work in the public schools cannot be expected outside the largest cities from lack of general understanding of the purpose of such training. Indeed, it seems to me a reversal of the proper order of things to expect the lower grades to direct the development of this subject.

It appears clear to me that we should look to the college in this matter. I do not see how a state university can fail to recognize that here is a plain duty to the taxpayer unfulfilled. That the taxpayer would burst with indignation if art education were introduced is aside from the point. His indignation has overflowed many times for other innovations.

Initial leadership rests with the college president, for it is he who should know the larger issues of national life and persuade his less broadly educated advisors of the justice of his wider vision. The trouble unfortunately lies deeper. Very few college presidents have sufficient understanding of art to give conviction in any course of reform. Leadership is therefore wholly lacking. If I possessed the mystic million dollars with which we please the vagrant fancy, inaugurating in our idle hours the ideal action, I would engage a modern Peter the Hermit endowed with fiery zeal and the statistics of the world, give him a roving commission to visit college presidents and others in authority to lay the foundations of a better understanding. It is a pleasant fancy.

But you will wish to know what those of us in the South who claim to have received the light are doing in support of our convictions.

It is only just to testify, after the foregoing arraignment of presidents in general, that our college and university heads have set an example which we, of the elect, can only approve. Art has become a tradition in our college and exerts an ever-widening effect upon its constituents and, to some extent no doubt, upon the entire section.

There are also the public schools with their devoted teachers of art, but working at great odds against an almost overwhelming condition of misunderstanding, when even open hostility does not prevail.

Then there are the art associations. In every city and in many towns are these organizations of men and women who devote their time and means to the business of securing local opportunity for their artists. All these associations give at least one salon a season composed of the work of local artists. In addition, from one to a half dozen circuit shows are given, thus bringing the standard of the world to bear on the education of the home town.

You would be surprised, as perhaps might be also our unhappy traveler referred to at the beginning of the paper, to know the volume of picture exhibitions that circulate throughout the South. If you could also know the financial cost involved, your respect would be born. For the long express haul is a factor the northern shows know nothing about, but which with us stands at the head of all calculation in such enterprise.

Finally, I wish to speak of the latest development, now in the first year of its existence—the Southern States Art League. The organization grew out of the need for larger and more influential union of the scattered forces throughout the southern section. It is making an effort, still in the experimental stage, to federate all the art organizations of the section and secure by weight of union a public attention which will presently become understanding. The ambitious plan is to assemble one large representative show annually, from which will be selected a convenient number of works to be circulated among as many cities and towns as possible during the season. There is nothing new in this as an idea, but for the South its undertaking is new and holds interesting possibilities.

The great industrial cities of the northern section, neighboring each other so closely, can have but small conception of the need felt in the South—felt rather than understood—of the social value exerted by art. That this prodigious area does not at present contribute greatly to the nation's art is true, but that it has no desire to share in it is by no means true.

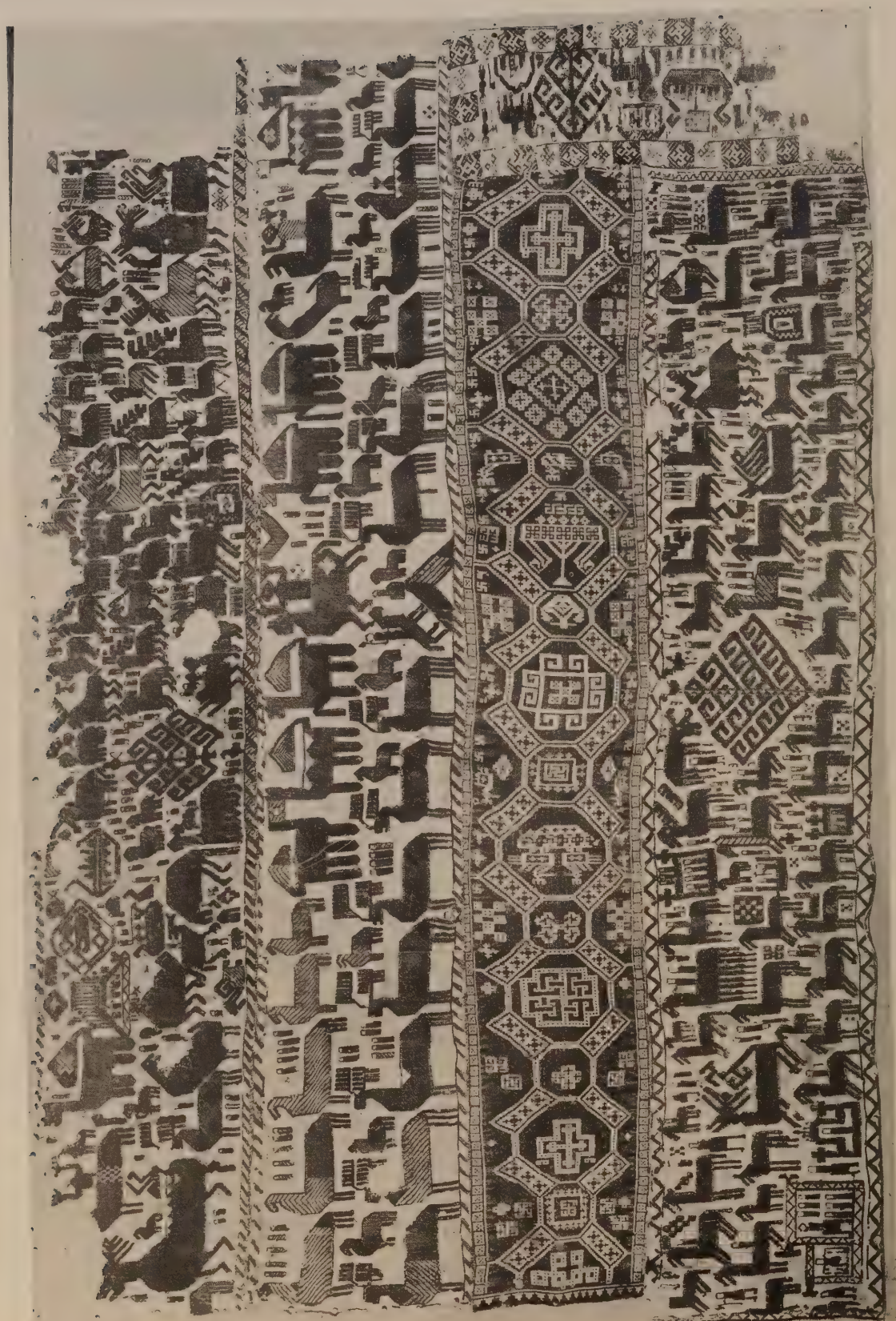


FIG. 1—OSTERSUND, JAMTSLOJD SOCIETY: ÖVERHOGDAL TAPESTRY

Mediæval Textiles of Sweden

BY M. S. DIMAND

Mediæval Scandinavian art offers promising material for the study of ornament, though some of its important products, such as the textiles of Sweden, are very imperfectly known to the outside world. I wish in this paper first to give a brief account of two Swedish tapestries, referring the reader to the recent monographic treatment of them by Salvén,¹ then to point out the surprising relations between the textiles of Sweden and some of the textiles of Egypt, and finally to explain these relations in terms of artistic influence affecting both countries.

Of the two tapestries in question, the first (Fig. 1) was discovered in 1910 in the church of Överhogdal, the second (Fig. 2) was discovered by Salvén in 1912 in the church of Skog, in the county of Hälsingland. Salvén's investigation of the technique, style, and date of the two wall hangings has thrown new light on the history of mediæval art in the North.

Both textiles are covered with a variety of motives, including human figures, animals, buildings, and geometrical elements. The Överhogdal example consists of four different textiles that have been sewed together. The first and second strips probably came from the same piece, which formed a long frieze. The third strip, with geometrical decoration, the fourth strip, and yet a fifth, attached vertically to them at the right, are each to be regarded as a separate weave.

The middle part of the Skog tapestry is occupied by two buildings, which Salvén has rightly identified as a church and a bell tower. The church has a single aisle separated from a lower choir by a door, and a steeple provided with a bell, which is being rung. The neighboring two-storied bell tower, surmounted by a cross, has in the somewhat smaller upper story two bells, which are being rung by three men standing on the ground floor. Both the church and the bell tower are probably of wood, for Salvén finds many analogies in Scandinavia. Characteristic of the buildings are the decorations at the corners in the form of posts carved with fantastic animal heads. Similar decoration is shown on a building at the left end of the fourth strip of the Överhogdal tapestry. These animal heads have been made familiar by repeated discoveries in Norway. With the Oseberg ship, which dates from the first half of the ninth century, were found some wooden objects, sledges and posts, decorated with carved animal heads² analogous to those of the Skog tapestry. These carvings in wood from the Oseberg discovery represent the best of the art of the Vikings. Animal heads are known to have been used by the Vikings on their ships (see the cover design of this magazine)³ in order to frighten their enemies. Placed on the temples and churches of the Vikings, such heads probably had the same purpose.⁴

The human figures represented on the two tapestries are classified by Salvén in three groups. To the first belong the three figures seen at the left end of the Skog tapestry. These stand on a podium in full face, with the feet, however, turned to the left. They wear long dresses that spread out below the girdle in a kind of bell shape. On their heads are helmets with crowns. In their hands are different attributes, as axes of ordinary Viking type and shields; in the right hand of the middle figure is a cross, in his left an

¹Salvén, *Bonaden från Skog*, 1923.

²Brögger-Schetelig, *Osebergfundet*, 1917-20, vol. III, figs. 62, 66, 72, 113, 143, 168, 180, 188-191, 193-200; Pl. X.

³From a gravestone in St. Oran's churchyard, Iona.

⁴Salvén, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Eckhoff, *Svenska stavkyrkor*, 1916, fig. 103; Brögger-Schetelig, *op. cit.*, fig. 344.

indefinite object. To the second group Salvén assigns the other figures on this tapestry, the horsemen and the figures standing within and beside the church. They are smaller and more conventionally treated than the first group. The skirt worn by these figures at the church shows a vertical slit down the middle. This "kyrtill," as it is called, is already known from Viking and other mediæval monuments. It appears, for example, on the Gallus door at Basel.¹ It has sometimes been taken to be trousers. But to judge from the parallels cited by Salvén it is more accurately regarded as a slit skirt worn by men. The female dress of the period is represented on the Överhogdal tapestry, where it appears on the small vertical strip at the right between the ship and the horseman. The third type of Salvén's classification is treated almost schematically, and arms and legs are often lacking: figures of this type appear all over the Överhogdal tapestry.

On both textiles animal forms occupy the major part of the field. On the Överhogdal tapestry horses, reindeer, harts, and birds are recognizable; on the Skog tapestry are horses, fantastic animals which Salvén calls lions, and birds. Some other small animal forms are thrown in for filling.

Geometrical designs appear in the borders and scattered over the fields of both textiles. The border of the Skog textile is divided into small rectangular sections with different motives. This method of ornamenting a border may be seen on stone slabs from Gottland and Scotland of the ninth and tenth centuries.² The geometrical ornament of the Skog border comprises lozenge diapers, parallel zigzags, irregular hook patterns, and crosses. The last mentioned, best seen on the border of the left end, are of special interest. In addition to the obvious diagonal crosses in dark lines there are negative crosses made by the ground. These twofold crosses³ reveal connections with both eastern and western art. The positive crosses are of eastern origin and probably came from Russia,⁴ with which Sweden was in close relations at an early date. The negative crosses with lozenge arms are similar to those on a stone slab from Nigg, Scotland:⁵ the relations between Scandinavia and the British Isles was likewise of early origin, and many similarities of ornament can be found.

The third strip of the Överhogdal tapestry is decorated with a geometrical pattern, a segment of octagon diaper formed by irregular rectangles connected by narrow bands. The rectangles contain crosses; the octagons are filled with various geometrical and geometrized ornaments, including crosses, swastikas, interlaces, boats, and birds. Many of these ornaments appear elsewhere on the Överhogdal tapestry, both in the borders and in the figured fields. Favorite motives are angular interlacings in cross form, and the rosettes (or crosses) made by five square dots, seen in the border of the third strip and here and there on the fields of the other strips. Other textiles with analogous ornaments are to be found in Swedish collections.⁶

What is the subject matter represented on these two textiles? Its Christian character is suggested by the abundance of crosses. Karlin⁷ and Salvén have presented a satisfactory interpretation of the subject. The Skog tapestry shows to the left of the church a three-headed rider that is to be regarded as a heathen deity. This deity is accompanied by wild animals, probably lions, representing the forces of evil that are attacking the church of the Christians with intent to destroy it. On the right side, though some of the queer animals

¹Salvén, *op. cit.*, fig. 73.

²*Ibid.*, figs. 90, 92; Montelius, *The Civilization of Sweden in Heathen Times*, fig. 176.

³Both types of cross appear on animals of the other tapestry.

⁴Arne, *Suède et l'Orient*, 1914, fig. 347.

⁵Salvén, *op. cit.*, fig. 90.

⁶*Ibid.*, figs. 100, 102, 103.

⁷Karlin, *Överhogdalstapeten*, 1920.



FIG. 2—STOCKHOLM, HISTORICAL MUSEUM: SKOG TAPESTRY

occur there also, are horsemen that are to be regarded as Christians coming to the defence of the church. The middle of the textile shows the Christians in and about the church and bell tower, some ringing the bells in order to drive their enemies away, some standing guard inside and outside the church. The altar is visible too, and the priest standing before it saying the mass. The three large figures at the left end represent perhaps the three Magi. Such an explanation of the tapestry seems convincing.

On the Överhogdal tapestry some buildings and figures are clearly designated as Christian. To the left of the middle in the fourth strip one may see a man in a sledge holding a cross. Other crosses are to be seen on neighboring buildings, evidently to be taken as churches. The heathen element is no less apparent. The conventional tree with a bird on the top, occurring in the first, the fourth, and the fifth strip, seems to be derived from the mythology of the North. There is a heathen deity placed on top of a hill near the middle of the second strip. A man carrying an axe in a threatening attitude is riding up the hill, presumably intending to destroy the heathen figure. This episode establishes the connection with what we found on the other tapestry. In both we have the conflict between Christianity and heathenism. Karlin explains the whole representation on the Överhogdal tapestry as the story of a Christian mission to the county of Norrland, which ended with the victory of Christianity.

Comparing the Överhogdal and Skog tapestries one cannot but recognize a certain difference in style despite the many points of similarity. The coloring is much the same: red, blue, green, and yellow are used decoratively in a purely arbitrary way; for instance, the horses of the Skog tapestry are blue and the riders red or *vice versa*. But the arrangement of the figures on this tapestry is more symmetrical than on the Överhogdal example, where motives of various sizes are strewn unevenly over the available surface. On the Skog tapestry there is a regular antithetical arrangement of the animals, which are disposed in two rows on either side of the buildings. On the Överhogdal tapestry, however, they are almost all facing toward the left and without any symmetrical scheme of distribution except that an attempt at symmetrical composition is seen in the fourth strip (and in the first, though the present relative position of the tree may be adventitious), where the conventionalized tree effects a nearly balanced division. On the Skog tapestry the animals have curved outlines and thus appear much less conventional than the angular simplified ones of the other tapestry, which is more archaic and more suggestive of the heathen spirit and art of the Vikings.

The Vikings, as we call the inhabitants of Scandinavia from the time of Charlemagne to that of William the Conqueror approximately, had a high decorative sense. Their objects of daily use in wood and metal have a rich ornament peculiar to the art of the North, in which interlaced animals play an important part. Along with the Oseberg ship were found textiles¹ closely related to the Överhogdal tapestry. These textiles from Oseberg are likewise irregularly covered with human figures, animals, vehicles, buildings, and trees, among which swastikas and lozenges are likewise interspersed. But the Oseberg textiles, in contrast to the Överhogdal tapestry, are pagan in subject. A similar style of ornament is shown by the ninth- and tenth-century Swedish gravestones from Gottland cited above,² where ships, buildings, and horsemen, all of the same type and style as on the Överhogdal tapestry, may be found.

The style of the figures and their distribution seem to be more primitive on the Överhogdal tapestry than on the Skog tapestry. This and the abundance of heathen

¹Salvén, *op. cit.*, figs. 2-4.

²P. 12, note 2.

motives on the former induce me to regard it as earlier than the latter. Salvén assigns both to the period between the middle of the eleventh and the middle of the twelfth century, during which time Christianity was introduced into the southern part of the county of Norrland, where he believes these two tapestries originated. Because of its more archaic character I should assign the Överhogdal tapestry to the eleventh century.

The technique of the two textiles described is of as great interest as their subject matter. Except for the third strip of the Överhogdal tapestry, the pattern of both is woven in wool of various colors on a ground of linen. There has been some variation of opinions as to the technique employed. While by some of the Swedish textile experts the designs were formerly regarded as embroidered on the ground, from Salvén's study and the examination by Miss Sylwan it now appears that they are woven in and not embroidered. The weft threads of the pattern are passed forward over various numbers of warp threads, for instance over nine, then backward under two or three, and again forward over nine threads, etc.; thus the weft threads are wound around the warp threads. To every weft thread of the pattern succeeds one of the ground weave. This whole technique is very similar to that used in a special group of Coptic textiles with fine details in linen.¹ Also at a later date Persian Soumak rugs show a technique the same in principle. Of all these textiles the characteristic feature is the slinging of the weft around the warp. This technique was extensively used in Scandinavia during the Middle Ages.

The third strip of the Överhogdal tapestry represents another kind of technique, the so-called double weave. The pattern on this piece is repeated mechanically. The same technique and similar patterns are found in the drawloom weaving from Egypt.² While the patterns elsewhere are obviously of Northern origin, the ornamental motives of this strip are of another character. The question immediately arises whether these are peculiar to Sweden or whether they are adopted from without. Geometrical ornamentation in the form of a lozenge diaper is very frequent in the art of the Vikings, but the method, that here appears, of covering a surface with an octagon diaper formed by rectangles is unfamiliar in the art of the North. Whence does it come? It brings to mind textiles from Coptic Egypt, where a group of woven stuffs, assigned to the period of the fifth to seventh century A. D., shows very similar patterns. Numbers 579 and 586 in Fig. 3 have a lozenge pattern formed by rectangles decorated with crosses. Numbers 569 and 587 offer us a direct parallel to the Swedish ornamentation: the rectangles are connected with lines, the fields of the octagons are decorated with geometrical cross-shaped designs, the rectangles have on a diminutive scale the cross motives. A further resemblance to the Swedish textiles is the use on other Coptic textiles of the angular interlacings and the rosettes of five dots.³ On the whole, then, the ornament of the third strip of the Överhogdal tapestry is as suggestive of Coptic influence as is the technique.

The question of artistic relations and influences brings up the whole matter of the derivation of the drawloom textiles. Peculiar to Egyptian and Hellenistic work was the tapestry technique. This allowed textile decoration to change its subject and ornament with the freedom of painting. The use of the drawloom, on the other hand, led rather to a repeating or a symmetrical decoration, as the third strip of the Överhogdal tapestry and the related Coptic textiles illustrate. A careful comparison of the ornament seen on the textiles of Fig. 3 with that of ancient Egyptian or Hellenic art reveals, moreover, that the ornament is foreign to them both. It has been introduced from elsewhere.

¹Dimand, *Die Ornamentik der ägyptischen Wollwirkereien*, 1923, fig. 10.

²Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles from Burying Grounds in Egypt*, 1921, vol. II, pls. 24, 25.

³*Ibid.*, vol. I, pl. 7; vol. II, pl. 29; Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, vol. I, fig. 33.



FIG. 3—LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM: WOVEN BANDS, BRAIDS, AND PANELS FROM EGYPT



FIG. 4—LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM: CLOTH WITH INLAID ORNAMENT FROM EGYPT



FIG. 5—STOCKHOLM, NORTHERN MUSEUM: LINEN CLOTH WITH INLAID ORNAMENT

Falke, as is well known, in his *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, advances the theory that a style and technique of silk-weaving sprung up at Alexandria, and he maintains that no traces of Chinese or Persian influence can be found in the silks from Egypt. A special group of silks from Antinoë¹ is described by Falke as of Greek origin, though others find no motive of Greek origin on them. This theory of Falke's is contraverted by the results of Strzygowski's investigation,² for the latter gives clear proofs of Persian influence. In fact, outright Persian elements appear in textiles from Antinoë;³ but Falke, though in classifying the textiles by themselves he recognizes perforce the Persian influence as far as the single motives are concerned, does not recognize it as to the style in general.

Important new material has been furnished by the recent excavations by Sir Aurel Stein in Central Asia.⁴ In Lou-Lan Chinese silks have come to light which date from the Han period, while the corresponding Egyptian weavings do not antedate the sixth century A. D. With the help of these new Chinese textiles it is possible to trace the derivation of many decorative elements appearing in the textiles from Coptic Egypt. The ornamentation which Falke calls Greek can be found on stuffs from Tunhuang.⁵ Though the date of the Tunhuang textiles (like that of Falke's alleged Greek group) cannot be fixed exactly, they can be assigned, according to datable material found along with them, to some period between the fifth and the ninth centuries of our era. Among the lozenge diapers we find closed and open patterns. The closed ones show broad ornate bands similar to some in textiles from Antinoë.⁶ The open lozenges are formed by variations of the swastika and square and are like those on other textiles from Antinoë⁷ both in general scheme and individual motives. The birthplace of this ornamentation can only be China or Central Asia, for such lozenges and other motives were already known in China during the Han period or before.⁸ Of great value to us is a Japanese pattern book, *Orimon Ruisan*, which includes ancient designs from Chinese and Japanese textiles. In this book there is figured a pattern⁹ which is strikingly similar to those of the third strip of the Överhogdal tapestry (Fig. 1) and its Coptic analogues (Fig. 3, Nos. 569, 587). The pattern consists of rectangles and small octagons forming octagonal fields inclosing symmetrical birds that recall those appearing on Chinese vases of the Han period.¹⁰ Thus we have good reason to assume that the pattern from the *Orimon Ruisan* comes from a textile of the Han period and is, therefore, far earlier than the Coptic and Swedish parallels. In a recent investigation of the technique of late antique and of Chinese textiles Miss Sylwan¹¹ has reached the conclusion that the Occidental technique of silk-weaving and that of related woollens is not of Alexandrian but of Chinese origin and that it was probably through Persia that the technique reached Egypt.

A further characteristic feature of the motives used in the third strip of the Överhogdal tapestry is the angularity of outline. This too appears on Coptic¹² and Persian¹³ textiles.

¹Falke, *op. cit.*, figs. 32-38.

²Strzygowski, *Seidenstoffe aus Aegypten* (*Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1903).

³Falke, *op. cit.*, figs. 46-50.

⁴Stein, *Serindia*, 1922, vol. V; Andrews, *Ancient Chinese figured silks, excavated by Sir Aurel Stein* (*Burl. Mag.*, vol. 37).

⁵*Ibid.*, pls. LV, CXX.

⁶Falke, *op. cit.*, figs. 34, 46.

⁷*Ibid.*, figs. 32, 33.

⁸These problems are discussed in my article, *Sidenvävnadskonstens ursprung och de senaste textiltfynden i Centralasien* (Svenska Örientsällskapets Årsbok, 1923).

⁹Falke, *op. cit.*, fig. 127.

¹⁰Hoerschelmann, *Die Entwicklung der altchinesischen Ornamentik*, 1907, pls. XXIII, XXIV.

¹¹Sylwan, *Studier i senantik textilkonst. Nagra skaffvävnader* (Riga, 1923.)

¹²Falke, *op. cit.*, figs. 29, 64, 80.

¹³*Ibid.*, figs. 129, 136, 138-145, 151.

Among the latter is a group ascribed to eastern Persia and belonging probably to some period between the eighth and the eleventh centuries A. D. The rigid angularity of outline of the motives is only in minor degree the result of the textile technique. It is rather to be regarded as primarily the result of a definite textile style such as is characteristic of Persian textiles. The appearance of this style in Egypt is due to Persian influence, which was already felt in Egypt before the Sassanian occupation (616 A. D.). Those textiles from Antinoë and Akhmîm¹ which show Persian motives are not all Egyptian products, despite Falke. Many of them are imports from Persia,² others are copies made in Egypt. The angular style in Sweden is probably due to nothing less than distant Persian influence.

This connection will not be surprising to one who knows of the intimate relations during the Viking period between Sweden and the East. Regular intercourse with the East began about 800 A. D. and from this time forward it is attested by Swedish, Russian, and Oriental documents.³ The Vikings penetrated to the East by way of the great Russian rivers, especially the Volga, and travelled as far as Constantinople and the Caspian region. Sweden established direct commercial contact with the empire of the Khazars, which lay between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea and Volga River.⁴ Many wares of Swedish manufacture have been found in Russia and, *vice versa*, Oriental coins and other metal work have been excavated in Sweden. These imported objects came to Sweden from as far afield as Asia Minor, Persia, Turkestan, and Siberia,⁵ and brought among their decorative motives the Persian palmette and the more or less conventionalized fauna that are familiar to us from Sassanian textiles and vases. These imported Oriental objects, many of which, as Arne says, were copied in Sweden, date from the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, those having Christian characteristics, as the small crosses, mostly from the eleventh century.

The recorded relations between Sweden and the East together with the objects discovered in Sweden are enough to show that Swedish decorative art of the Middle Ages had grafted on its pure Scandinavian stem a scion from the East, especially Persia and Turkestan. The resemblances between the textiles of Sweden and those of Egypt may be explained by the fact that both countries were in touch with the same Asiatic territory whence they imported the same decorative elements and techniques.

Another weaving common to Egypt (Fig. 4) and Sweden (Fig. 5) might be cited as a corroborative illustration of these historic relations: an "inlaying method," producing a kind of brocade, called in Swedish *dukagångssnår*. Characteristic of these textiles are the conspicuous parallel lines caused by the technique. The weft threads pass alternately over some three or four warp threads and under one. This technique came to Sweden via Constantinople and Russia, probably in the Middle Ages and was continually used during the following centuries. How strong the tradition was in Sweden is apparent from the textile of Fig. 5, the right part of which has a pattern very similar to that of a cloth of drawloom weaving from Egypt:⁶ both of them showing a diaper of octagons with a profiled bird filling. This design spread probably from Persia as far as Sweden during the Middle Ages.

¹*Ibid.*, figs. 59, 60.

²*Ibid.*, figs. 48-50.

³Arne, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-18.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 117-204.

⁶Kendrick, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pl. 25.

The Art Division of the American Ceramic Society

BY EDWIN M. BLAKE

The American Ceramic Society was started at a convention of the National Brick Manufacturers' Association held at Pittsburgh in February, 1898. It appears that a paper treating of the chemistry of glazes applicable to terra cotta was read before the association but excited little interest from most of those present—business men, who had yet to learn the value of scientific control to their industry. Nevertheless, the author of the paper found eight kindred spirits at the convention, and thirteen more joined them soon and effected the organization of the American Ceramic Society. Last February this society, having over eighteen hundred members, met at Pittsburgh to celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary.

In 1918 a plan, which had been under discussion for several years, was carried through, that of permitting groups of members of the American Ceramic Society to organize divisions, of which there are now seven, namely: Art, Enamel, Glass, Heavy Clay Products, Refractories, Terra Cotta, and White Wares. At the convention this year one day was given over to meetings of the society as a whole and two days to division meetings, each in a room by itself but all in the same building, thus permitting a member to divide his time between divisions. For the last two days seven trips were offered, each requiring a whole day and permitting visits to several manufacturing plants.

The Art Division, the last to be established, commenced its activities in 1921 with a membership campaign and the development of a program. It induced the society to have an exhibition of ceramic products during its convention in 1922 and again in 1923, and to be represented in like manner at the Chemical Exposition in New York, and it will be the policy of the division to encourage the society to arrange for exhibits, especially of artistic wares, whenever favorable opportunities arise. It need hardly be said that the Art Division will endeavor to influence manufacturers of table china, art pottery, terra cotta, and tile to pay more attention to the artistic quality of their output, but it is not proposed that the matter will end with mere propaganda. The technique of making, coloring, and handling glazes, the numerous processes of decoration, and designs suitable for ceramic wares are to be studied. In this connection it is interesting to note that the charter members of the division were twelve manufacturers and managers of clay-working plants, nine artists or decorators, nine ceramic instructors, five potters, and three dealers in ceramic supplies. This, taken with the fact that at conventions members of all divisions meet together for one day and afterwards in nearby rooms, makes contact between art and manufacturing interests intimate and easily maintained.

In the educational part of its program the Art Division will call to the attention of teachers in the grammar and high schools the advantages of clay as a means of developing the hand, the observation of space relations, and self-expression. Later the clay work may be made a convenient peg on which to hang information concerning clay wares and their manufacture, which in brick, tile, table china, and the crocks and bowls of the kitchen form so large a part of the child's environment. From this it is an easy step to elementary questions of industry and economics. As the student passes through high school, more and

more attention should be given to design, with the hope of stimulating artistic appreciation. It is not proposed to make artistic potters but rather to draw the interest of the pupil to excellent examples of vases while he is trying to make one himself and then lead him on to the enjoyment of other objects of art. It should be understood that this is not vocational instruction, though it may form the beginning of trade training for those who are planning to enter the ceramic field. In the interest of these the Art Division will endeavor to gain the support of the clay-working interests and the proper municipal, state, and federal authorities for trade schools at such pottery centers as Zanesville, East Liverpool, and Wheeling, schools in which the several branches of the potter's craft will be taught and designers and decorators trained. Further, it is proposed to assist this movement by the formulation of tentative plans for the organization of such schools, including essential personnel, curriculum, equipment, cost, etc.

"Everyone interested in historical pottery is aware of the fact that no practical or technical information is offered by museum authorities, or that no such information accompanies the historical data usually attached to each exhibit; nor is it published by the museum authorities in separate form. Yet such information contributed by authoritative sources would be of unquestioned value to the industrial concerns interested in such types. . . . The Art Division is taking steps to approach certain of the museums with a view to ascertaining the probability of undertaking such a work" (*Jour. Amer. Ceramic Soc.*, Feb., 1922, in an editorial on the Art Division). This interesting suggestion, if carried out, not only in ceramics but in other lines as well, would no doubt increase the value of museum collections as a means of study, especially were indexes provided to enable one to locate all pieces having the same technical character. Inquiry at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, elicited the information that when new labels are prepared for ceramic pieces such technical information as the museum authorities are able to supply is placed on the label. In the Textile Study Department, where, to be sure, the matter is much simpler than in ceramics, notes on material, style of weave, etc., are being supplied.

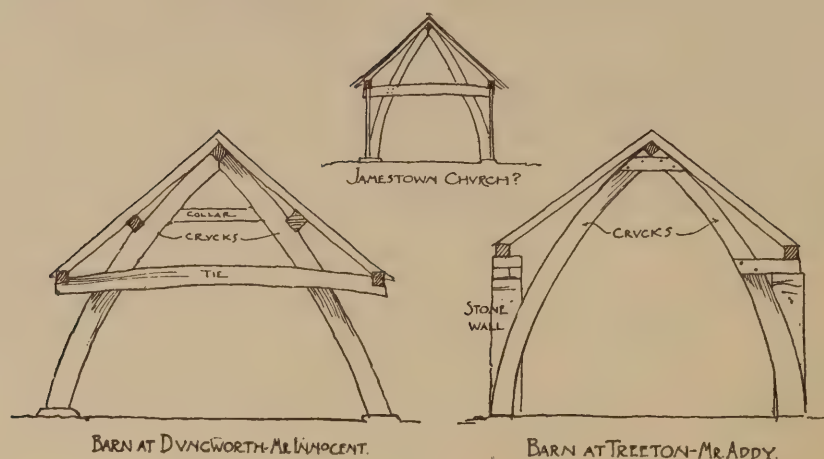
The value of the Art Division to the manufacturer and designer of decorated wares should be evident—the American Ceramic Society is their trade organization—but for the teachers of pottery making in the schools and those having small studios producing art pottery and tiles, an additional few words may not be amiss. The society has a monthly publication, divided into three sections: the *Journal*, containing original papers and discussions; *Ceramic Abstracts*, giving short accounts of the contents of articles appearing in current technical literature; and the *Bulletin*, containing notes on the activities of the society. To be sure, much of the material published is of little or no value to the teacher or studio worker, though each should find in the course of a year several articles of importance, and even articles intended for the trade may indicate some new material or factory expedient adaptable to the studio, and the broader field and greater magnitude of commercial production thus brought to the attention may serve as an agreeable corrective to a narrowness which laboratory work is prone to develop. The Art Division has induced its members to volunteer to write articles covering the several operations of pottery making according to a prearranged schedule. These are to be read at meetings and published in the *Journal*, after which when the series is complete they are to be collected together, changed to such extent as discussion may have indicated, and issued as a textbook.

For those who can attend the society's conventions (the next one will be held in February, 1924, at Atlantic City, within easy reach of Trenton and other clay-working centers in New Jersey) there is the added benefit of contact with other teachers and studio

potters, of acquaintance with those engaged in commercial production, and of visits to manufacturing plants.

So much for the Art Division as a branch of the American Ceramic Society, but from a wider viewpoint it is one manifestation of the rapidly growing movement toward "Art in Industry," to use the title of Professor Richard's very valuable report of the Industrial Art Survey. In this connection the question immediately arises, are there other trade organizations with art divisions? Inquiry addressed to secretaries of some of the trade organizations and to others in a position to know shows there is an awakening interest for art and a disposition to seek means to make that interest productively effective, but as yet there is no arrangement similar to that of the ceramists.

REVIEWS



DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES AND OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC. BY FISKE KIMBALL. 4°, xx, 314 PP., 219 ILLS. NEW YORK, CHARLES SCRIBNERS SONS, 1922. \$12.

The early architecture of the Colonies has long needed a history. Of the many books on the subject no one has covered the ground completely. In the work we are now to consider Professor Fiske Kimball's lectures at the Metropolitan Museum "have been elaborated in an effort to present a comprehensive and accurate view of the evolution of the early American house." The story is begun at the beginning and continued to the very end, for the latest house mentioned is dated 1857. In fact, to the work from 1784 onward there is given a division of the book, 117 pages, which is nearly as large as the two sections, taken together, which are allotted to the seventeenth century and the eighteenth to the close of the Revolution. Near the end of the book comes a Chronological Chart of "nearly two hundred houses between the time of settlement and 1835" in the study of which "it has been possible to determine with sufficient, and in most cases with absolute exactness the dates and the original form." To this succeeds a collection of Notes on Individual Houses, largely occupied with reasons for the dates which are given, and an Index closes the work.

The form of the book is dignified, and it looks well on the shelf, but it is clumsy to hold and is hard to read because the page is too wide. It seems strange that our publishers are not always abreast of the foreign men in this part of book making. The illustrations are plentiful and good and many of them are new and are very welcome. Perhaps because of the great number they are not always well placed in relation to the text which describes them.

The close dependence of the work in the Colonies upon the types in use in the mother country is insisted upon and well set forth, especially for the eighteenth century, but beyond this statement there is very little attempt to create any historical background or to connect the movement of the art with any of the great political currents of the times except the Revolution. Our indebtedness to France is not touched upon till the introduction to the Republican period.

At the outset Professor Kimball disposes of the usual theory that log huts were the first houses of our ancestors. The documentary evidence—or the lack of it—is, as he says, all against it. This view is no doubt correct as he applies it to the earliest settlements, but there are, in the pine region, several houses, such as the McIntyre, at York, Maine, and the Gilman, at Exeter, New Hampshire, for which early dates are claimed, which are actually built, in part at least, of squared logs now concealed by later coverings.

In considering what he calls “the primitive shelters” Professor Kimball brings up Smith’s description of the church at Jamestown and the curious word “cratchet,” the meaning of which is of extraordinary importance. We have, of course, only the printer’s version of the word. Professor Kimball thinks it the same as crotchet, to which I subscribe, but he takes it to mean the post with forked top which held a primitive ridgepole. It has seemed to me for some time that it means something more important than this, and Smith’s words “like a barn” and his reference to “rafts” which were probably rafters, strengthen this conviction. A barn would hardly tolerate posts in the middle of its span, an arrangement which would be extremely inconvenient in a church, for that matter. Has Professor Kimball here the “cruck” or “crutch” of old English construction first brought to our attention, I think, by Mr. Addy in his *Evolution of the English House* (see headpiece). For the word appears in New England as “cratches,” which might perhaps be the same thing as “crutches,” which were, apparently, the same as “crucks.” Now consider the section of the barn (see headpiece), which is like that given by Mr. Addy, and think, too, of Gawen Lawrie’s words, quoted by Professor Kimball: “the walls are of cloven timber . . . one end to the ground”—he does not say *in* the ground—“the other nailed to the raising . . .” that is, possibly, to the purlin across the crucks, as the drawing shows (see headpiece). Note also that the primitive Jamestown church had walls made like the roof; it was not covered merely with rafters reaching from the ground to the ridge. It would be very interesting if we could carry this point further and prove, as we might possibly do if we had all the early references, that Professor Kimball’s “cratchets,” the “cratches” of the New England record, and the “cruck” of Mr. Addy and the late Mr. Innocent were the same.

We now come to the houses of the seventeenth century. While this cannot, of course, appeal to every one as the most interesting period of our architectural history, it is the most important. It is that in which investigation and record count for the most and are the most necessary—in fact such work must be done now or not at all—since the houses are rapidly disappearing or are losing their value as evidence through restorations which, on the other hand, are, with the steady destruction, constantly bringing new facts to light. Professor Kimball’s treatment of this very important century does not seem at all what the work of the period deserves.

In the discussion of the frame house of this early time we come upon one characteristic which is to appear constantly throughout Professor Kimball’s book and which is to render it, on the whole, I think, to most readers rather a disappointment. This is a too close reliance upon the documentary evidence. It is true that the great merit which he may claim for his work is his exaltation of the written evidence to a place which it ought to have and which the earlier writers have seldom given it; but he seems to me to attain this at the expense of the intimate knowledge of the fabric, of its forms and its construction, which he ought to have and which he does not seem to have acquired. He is inclined, too, to give too much weight to the views of historians who, untrained in technical matters, yet presume to date the old houses on the strength of documentary statements, ignoring the structural evidence which they are unfitted critically to examine. The inferences, too,

which he draws from his documents do not seem to be always correct. He thinks, for instance, that there were few framed houses till some time after the settlement. I think that, for New England at least, he minimizes the activity of the early carpenters. The cheap form of house was probably always in evidence—it certainly was for many years, but I believe the framed house, even at first, was not confined to the ministers and the magistrates. The Massachusetts records, moreover, are rather against such a view. Craftsmen were so busy and so much in demand that the General Court, after attempting to fix the wages of carpenters, masons, joiners, and bricklayers, was forced to order, on September 7, 1634, that “noe man (hereafter) shall be lyeable to pay the forfeet of vs for giueing more wages to workmen then the Court hath sett.”¹

Professor Kimball denies any clear line of development in these houses, to only ten of which, now standing, all in Essex County, Massachusetts, will he allow an exact or nearly exact documentary date.

“It should not be surprising, then, that these houses, ranging, so far as we can prove, only from 1650 to 1700, represent a homogeneous style in which there was very little evolution. . . . Any dates prior to 1650, obviously, must be advanced with extreme caution. Thus in the case of the Fairbanks house . . . it is rash to maintain the very year of Jonathan Fairbank’s admission as a townsman, 1636-7, as the date of the central part of the existing house.” Again, “only in wealth and accommodations can we trace any consistent tendency.” This is entirely plausible, but it is, at the same time, I think, misleading. The argument, for instance, which Professor Kimball cites against the early date of the Fairbanks house in this.² The William Avery house, now destroyed, “bore a striking resemblance to the Fairbanks house. . . . the writer has closely examined both houses and ventures the opinion that they were built about the same time.” . . . William Avery was admitted a townsman in 1650. Therefore, since, for many strong reasons, not mentioned, neither house could have been built before 1650, the Fairbanks house was not built till that date.

The seventeenth century is full of puzzles; that is one thing which makes it so profoundly interesting. There are many survivals, though they do not all occur in the same house, as Professor Kimball himself recognizes, and, while it is possible that there is no clear line to be traced through the forest of old framing, that neither the theory of diluted tradition nor one of later accumulation of detail with acquired wealth is the right one, nevertheless, a long acquaintance with these old houses makes me loath to believe that a path cannot be found or that the attempt to find it is not worth while. If Professor Kimball had carefully examined the venerable dwelling which stands on the edge of the meadow at Dedham, he would not have had to take Rev. Mr. Millar’s word for the construction of the wall filling, nor would he have accepted the statement just quoted and have condemned Jonathan Fairbanks to wait for the year 1650 so that the date of his house would be safe to record.

One of the puzzles of the early framing Professor Kimball does not touch upon: the habit, prevalent in Salem, of running the summer across the house in the first story instead of carrying it, as in the vast majority of examples, parallel with the front wall. Whence did this come? It occurs quite early, and, in one or two instances, quite late. It is the rule in Salem, but it can be found, in rare instances, from Ipswich on the north to Old Saybrook on the south.

¹Mass. Col. Rec., I, 127.

²Dedham Hist. Reg., IX, 4.

On another puzzle, the overhang, we get scant help. Relying upon his ten dated houses and upon his six photographs of the outsides of dated houses now destroyed, he throws away the theory of diluted tradition as well as that of the late appearance of the overhang, and denies that the framed overhang—which, by the way, he does not explain to the lay reader—died out after 1675 or that the end overhang is a sign of early date. "Our group of Massachusetts houses indicates that there at least the framed overhang appeared in houses as early as any now remaining, that it persisted until the end of the century, and that the end overhang is no sign of priority." A single instance, just one house now standing out of the thousands once existing in the country, may, perhaps, be rather a narrow basis for a sweeping statement. Because the end overhang occurs late, 1684, in one end of the Ward house, which he says has been added to, and in the Hunt, 1698, which is gone and the framing of which no one knows anything about, it is not necessarily true that it is not a device far more common in early than in late houses, that it is not, in other words, a late survival. There is never any security about the date of a house till its construction is absolutely known throughout.

Some curious questions, too, arise from this denial of development. Was the Sun Tavern, in Boston, with its assumed date of 1680 and its Tudor overhang, as late as the Whipple house, in Hamilton, with a date which must be very close to 1682 and an original lean-to frame? Was the Peter Tufts house contemporary with both?

In Virginia, Professor Kimball says, there are no seventeenth-century houses of wood now known or even claimed. He is silent about Maryland save that he gives, by the courtesy of Mrs. Sioussat, a view of Bond Castle, in that colony, which is of very great interest and importance. It is exasperating to hear him say of this that it "suggests interesting material for further study."

The treatment of the masonry house is better than that of the framed dwelling. Here we get our first real view of the work in Virginia, though it is, unfortunately, rather an inadequate glimpse. Only two houses in that colony now standing are allowed authentic dates, the Warren house and Bacon's Castle. The drawings of the latter, though not Professor Kimball's own, are of the very greatest value. It is to be hoped that Rev. Donald Millar, who made them, has made many more of the early dwellings of the Old Dominion. With the measured drawings of this castle is an old view of the building and, on the strength of this, it is hard to see why Mr. Millar dates the addition as late as 1854. Of the houses now destroyed we have only plans of those excavated at Jamestown and an exterior of Fairfield, another house of extraordinary interest. There are others which are not illustrated, the Cocke house, at Malvern Hill, for instance, destroyed quite recently, and the Adam Thoroughgood house, which is mentioned only with a statement of doubt as to its early date.

Professor Kimball apparently does not believe in any seventeenth-century house in Maryland or the Carolinas, or even in the Dutch settlements, though there are some in this last colony which claim that long descent. There are but two in Pennsylvania to which he assigns dates, and one of these is gone.

Poor New England is reduced to two houses now standing, with two others which have been destroyed. Of the two that are still in existence, the Peter Tufts house—it used to be credited to Gov. Matthew Cradock—is the earlier and it may be of the date he claims, 1677-80, though I doubt it. The Usher, or Royal house, at Medford, should hardly have been adduced at this stage of the discussion. The nucleus of it is spoken of as a brick house, but only one end of brick now appears on the outside, the front is of wood and there

are some things in the section which make the minute analysis of the changes a matter of some doubt.

The treatment of the two New England houses now destroyed, especially the Sergeant house, is a more serious matter. Peter Sergeant built a house in Boston in 1676-9 which later became the Province House and which was torn down a few months ago. But he did not build the house as it was shown in the old woodcut which Professor Kimball has reproduced and about which he has reasoned almost as if he had the original dwelling before him. Of course, Professor Kimball is not to blame because he could not foresee the evidence which the tearing down of the house would bring to light, but he might, had he tried, have seen the old outside chimney at one end—it used to be visible, at any rate—and he forsakes his rigid system of evidence when he makes about the old woodcut statements which are utterly destroyed by the gables, just about like those in Bacon's Castle, which, as the work of the wreckers has disclosed, Sergeant's mason actually built for him. In the face of this we may be pardoned for thinking that the modillion cornice at Fairfield would, if it could be examined, prove to be, like some cornices in New England, later than the original construction.

Of that difficult period, the transition from mediæval to Palladian forms, Professor Kimball says very little. He begins the story of the eighteenth century with a statement of the course of academic or Palladian architecture in England and then shows how it spread here, as it did among the people of moderate means in that country, through the books which were put forth in vast numbers, edition after edition, from the year 1700. His account of these books and their influence is very interesting and is the best if not the only clear view we have of the whole field.

Then follows a discussion of the materials, a view of the increasing number of houses in brick and stone which were, of course, mostly outside of New England, where, as he says, the fear of dampness held back the building of masonry dwellings. It would be of interest to know, however, just how great the proportion of increase was when the vast number of Colonial houses, both town and farm, is regarded.

Professor Kimball gives almost a sigh of relief when he can forget the "exposed beams and other functional elements" and turn to "more abstract compositions of space, mass, and surface." Among these is the far more academic plan which has come in from England with the new order of things. His discussion of this is full and good, though he does not pay much attention to the older plans which, as he says, survived far into the century. Indeed, the plan which appears in the lean-to house of 1680 is still in use in New England in 1800. Two examples of it appear among Jefferson's papers, whether by his own hand or not.

The keynote of the new plan, of course, is given by the increased requirements of privacy. Where no greater need was felt for this, or where it entailed any great expense, the older plan might survive, as many a small house of to-day goes without what would be a very convenient corridor in order to save money. There were several ways of getting these new results, as Professor Kimball shows in his group of houses with the H plan, like Tuckahoe and Stratford, in Virginia, in his group, by far the largest, with the central entry through the house—transverse hall, he calls it, in defiance of the old inventories and contracts—and in his even more interesting, if smaller group "with a developed front hall and a stair hall at the rear." Early instances of this last are the Governor's Palace at Williamsburg, and Stenton, near Philadelphia. While this was uncommon in the North it might be noted that in the Schuyler house at Albany the stairs were cut off from the front part of the

hall by a partition, though there was no change in width, and that an arch was sometimes used to mark this separation in the straight New England entries. The best houses in this group are Carter's Grove and Cliveden. A fourth group is that "with a stair hall expanded to one side" as in Shirley and Rosewell, of which plans are given, and in the Ladd house in Portsmouth, in all three of which the entry is practically one of the corner rooms of the house. Other instances of this occur in the North. We might wonder whether, in Virginia, this scheme were not descended from the old type of house divided by a single cross partition, where the stairs were necessarily in one of the rooms. The fifth group is marked by "a broad transverse hall free from stairs, and stairs placed laterally," as in Mount Airy, Mount Pleasant, and Whitehall, and in the Van Rensselaer house at Albany. I doubt if this form was quite so widespread as Professor Kimball implies in calling it "one of the favorite types after 1760." It appears in rare instances in New England, but with the stairs at one side of the entry and parallel to it.

Almost all the plans here given are Southern, and nearly every one is that of a brick or stone house. It is a pity that there are not more New England plans and more of the humbler type in the South—in short, more chances for the comparisons which are so interesting and important in art history. It will be instructive for the reader to note carefully something which Professor Kimball says very little about—nothing, indeed, in any formal manner—the placing of the chimneys in these houses. The back stairs and the side entrance should also be compared in the different plans.

The ell, as a part of the plan, does not appear in any of these drawings, and Professor Kimball mentions only the Van Cortlandt house as a dated example, though he says it was a common form in houses one room deep, a rather unsatisfactory statement.

The relation of the house to its outbuildings is discussed at some length with a page of excellent block plans. Here again the examples are Southern and there is no attempt to set forth the schemes used in the North.

It is again a little disheartening to read, as a warning, that there is no line of development in the plan. "Among the houses where free access to all the rooms is provided, it would be a mistake to suppose a general chronological sequence for the several types of arrangement. Rather we find, irrespective of general type, a historical progression, from functional arrangement with little regard for formal relationships, to formal symmetry with attention to the composition of space."

From the plan Professor Kimball goes to the exterior, with a somewhat limited treatment of roofs, the plain gable, the hip, and the gambrel. He gives some sections of curb (gambrel) roofs from English books, and explains the form as a means of roofing a house two rooms deep, at a steep pitch, without the enormous height of the old chateau roof. Inigo Jones got over this by the hipped roof with a nearly flat deck, a type used here in the earlier part of the century—and later, too, though with a much flatter pitch—and the gambrel is a good deal like this with a gable at each end. He does not mention the combination of hip and gambrel so common at Newport, but he does give names, "jerkin-head," "hipp'd wall roof," "snug dutch roof," to the ugly truncated gable which Richard Munday used in the Newport Colony house and which appears in the Pinckney house, in Charleston, and even in Virginia. It is on the upper deck of the hip roof that the balustrade first appears. Its use over the cornice, he says, comes later.

"For the exteriors we may say, in general," Professor Kimball continues, "that the development is toward a higher and higher degree of formal organization," and he goes on to explain this as regular spacing of openings, balance, the use of door and window casings,

cornices, quoins, and then the "elements primarily formal in their very nature—'pavilions,' pilasters, and porticos." He speaks as if rusticated walls were rather common, which has not been my observation of the examples. He claims, on the authority of the old woodcut and some description, that the Sergeant (Province) house had a porch with columns in 1679, an astonishing assumption which the latest evidence must dispose of entirely. On that puzzling factor in our architecture, the piazza, he throws welcome light in quotations from letters of 1771 between Copley and Henry Pelham, the painter's brother-in-law, about the former's house. Copley, in New York, thinks of adding "a peazer . . . which is much practiced here." Pelham, in Boston, "don't comprehend what you mean."

In the interiors the formal academic treatment which Professor Kimball describes and which, as he says, "took the place of the direct revelation of structural elements," came in, I think, rather more slowly than he indicates. With his eyes upon the more important houses and the changes they display, he loses sight of a host of dwellings which show very plainly the struggle between the two forces and the many survivals of older or cruder forms well into the century. This is to miss also a good deal of very excellent detail, for many a rough exterior will reveal astonishing work in its best room.

In his treatment of panelling Professor Kimball does not quite make clear the transition from sheathing to panels, which, he says, came about 1700, a date which seems a bit early. Nor does he give as much attention as he might to what may be the earliest form of panelling, in the eighteenth century, that with the bolection moulding, where the face of the raised and bevelled panel is in front of the stile and rail (see tailpiece). This was a form which Wren liked to use and which appears in houses attributed to him. There was a room in Newport of about 1722, where the panelling was, in detail, very close to that at Belton. It even had the heavy rolling architrave moulding of the Girdlers' Hall or of St. Lawrence, Jewry. The fact that this form of architrave would not receive the surbase was what led to the habit of cutting the latter off and returning it, a habit which long survived the architrave that caused it. The bolection moulding panelling seems never to have been common in the South or in Philadelphia. Was it succeeded by the form in which the panel, still raised and bevelled, was flush with the stile (see tailpiece), or was this latter the usual type up to 1765, and the bolection moulding a rare variant, as Professor Kimball says? This is an important question. For the South he is right, as far as the examples go, though we have almost no very early ones, and the date of the panelling is not always the date of the house. For New England I think the bolection moulding came first.

Professor Kimball goes on to speak of the low panelling in the halls or entries which was used in the North because, as he suggests, trouble arose when the high panels cleared the edge of the stair well and had to rise to the second story cornice.

The section devoted to the mantel is very good, as far as it goes. The type with the overmantel is well illustrated and its English origin clearly explained by cuts from contemporary English pattern books; but the mantel which originally formed part of the panelling and developed therefrom, and the single mantel, the one-story mantel, so to speak, are rather neglected.

What Professor Kimball has to say about the staircase is also, in general, very good, and he traces the development fairly, but his treatment is marred by too great brevity and by the appearance, at least, of haste, so that the second reading is clearer than the first. It is curious to find, too, in a book so particular about documented dates, that this or that stair is claimed as the earliest example of the cylindrical newel, the newel with double

spiral or the scroll and curtail. Again, these terms are not fully illustrated, and might be very cloudy to the uninitiated.

The ceilings of the period are taken up and the line of their development is followed. There were few stucco workers in the Colonies, Professor Kimball says, but here and there in the great houses were some elaborate ceilings, while a few scrolls and festoons appear on the walls. It may be noted here that the panelling in the drawing room of the Bryce house, as well as the cornice, is in plaster.

Paint is the last topic to be considered. Professor Kimball says that the painting of interiors began about 1725 and that the color used was not white. Some readers may find this statement hard to believe, but it is perfectly true. White was very rare in eighteenth-century interiors if it occurred at all.

In closing his account of this period Professor Kimball marks as an error "the prevailing belief . . . that the most characteristic American architecture was the Colonial work of the eighteenth century." He goes on: "It is not the Colonial which constitutes America's really characteristic achievement in architecture. A truly American contribution to architectural style appeared only after the Revolution, and then it assumed a historical importance which has been little recognized."

Professor Kimball's setting forth, in the third section of his book, of this contribution and its import, is very interesting but hardly convincing. Nor more so is his attempt to make Jefferson "the prophet of the new gospel," though he is perhaps right in saying that "its earliest apostles were other distinguished laymen and amateurs." To him the classic revival was what we have always called simply the "Greek Revival" and "its ultimate ideal the temple." He says, later on, that Mills, Strickland, and Walter would not bow to the temple craze, in dwelling houses, "so that it represents a genuinely popular preference of laymen and amateurs." From this it would seem that the movement is less the special contribution he claims it to be than a sign of the radical tide which began to rise in the Revolution and which finally swept the older traditional art into oblivion along with the Federal party and the aristocratic traditions of the eighteenth century. It was an expression, possibly, of the Americanism of the time in its dislike of knowledge—in others—and of the authority of experts, of the Americanism which needs only to don a uniform to become a general or to pick up a pencil to become an architect.

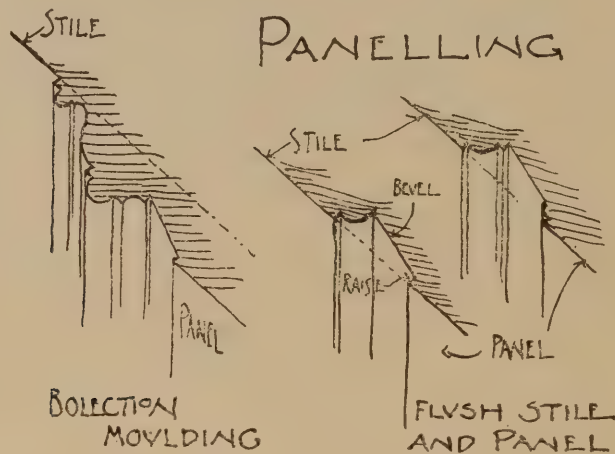
Professor Kimball says, however, that the older style, which he prefers to call, tentatively, post-Colonial, lived on beyond the Revolution, and his account of it bears out his statement. It is very well done indeed, apart from some confusion in the presentation and the odd way the illustrations are jumbled, and is the best treatment of a period in the book.

The discussion here, indeed, is nearly the same as that used for the eighteenth century. The remarkable changes in the plan are analyzed; the elevations and the interiors, with their stairs, doorways, and mantels, are passed in review. There is, however, less evidence of the haste which seemed to characterize the description of the other two centuries; there is almost no criticism of the dating, which, indeed, is now less in dispute; and, above all, Professor Kimball seems more at home in the period. He is fond of it, and it lends itself to his skill in the discovery and use of documents.

The Chronological Chart, a list of "Houses of Which the Date and Authorship are Established by Documents," the earliest date in which is 1651, the latest 1857, deserves more than a passing notice. Indeed, it might well be accorded, with the Notes on Individual Houses, a review by itself, somewhat controversial in places, by the way. For these two sections, together, are, to the historical student, perhaps the most important

part of the book. There are many houses which do not appear, the dates of some can be shown to rest on no more trustworthy assertions than those which support some dates which Professor Kimball refuses to accept; but here, together, is collected a list of dates which, in the greater number, are authentic and which give the investigator at least a point of departure for further study. For it must not be supposed that the Colonial problem is solved. Professor Kimball has made another step toward the goal, but he has not reached it. If he could have added to his love of research and his skill in the use of documents a fondness for the old work in itself and thus a more patient observation of it, he would have come very near to saying the last word on our early architecture.

Norman Morrison Isham



Christine Reed

Vol. VI

No. 2

The Art Bulletin

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY THE

College Art Association
Of America



DECEMBER

NINETEEN HUNDRED TWENTY-THREE

One dollar a copy

Three dollars a volume

BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE

Entered as second-class matter December 3, 1919, at the Post Office
at Providence, Rhode Island, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

The Art Bulletin

An illustrated quarterly published by the

COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Members of the College Art Association receive The Art Bulletin.

Life membership is open to all; the fee is one hundred dollars.

Sustaining membership is open to all; the annual fee is ten dollars.

Associate membership, or subscription to The Art Bulletin, is open to all; the annual fee is three dollars.

Active membership is open to those engaged in art education; the annual fee is five dollars.

The College Art Association year extends from May to May. All subscriptions to The Art Bulletin begin with the first number of the current volume.

Address all communications to

COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE

The Art Bulletin

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY THE

College Art Association of America

Editor

JOHN SHAPLEY

Editorial Board

DAVID M. ROBINSON, *Chairman*

| | |
|------------------|------------------|
| ALFRED M. BROOKS | JOHN PICKARD |
| FRANK J. MATHER | ARTHUR K. PORTER |
| CHARLES R. MOREY | PAUL J. SACHS |

CONTENTS

DECEMBER MCMXXIII

| | |
|--|---------|
| THE EARLIEST PAINTED PANELS OF CATALONIA (II)..... | Page 31 |
| THE APPRECIATION OF ART..... | 61 |
| REVIEWS..... | 65 |



FIG. 1—BARCELONA, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: ALTAR-FRONTAL. CHRIST IN MAJESTY, AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia (II)

By WALTER W. S. COOK

(3) Two Altar-Frontals in the Barcelona Museum

TWO altar-frontals now in the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona (Figs. 1, 2),¹ show a beauty of composition, draughtsmanship, and color superior to many other examples in this series of the earliest painted panels of Catalonia. Together with the St. Martin antependium from Montgrony and the Vich altar-canopy, discussed in the preceding article,² they form a group so essentially Spanish and racial that we may consider them products of a single school. The community of atelier is obvious at a glance; both show the same composition, a central compartment containing a large figure of the Saviour seated within a globe-mandorla and two lateral compartments with figures of saints.

In the first of these two panels (Fig. 1),³ Christ sits enthroned at the intersection of two circles, composed of concentric bands of color, the central band embellished with a series of alternating roundels and paired dots as a filling *motif*. The feet rest on a semi-circle with growing acanthus underneath. The closed Book of the Gospels, its cover ornamented with a floral pattern, is held on the left knee, and the right hand is raised in benediction. The Saviour is depicted with curly black hair, slight moustache and beard, and a large crossed nimbus, the cross projecting beyond the circumference of the circle. A wide-sleeved tunic falls in stiff folds to the ankles, and a heavy mantle, draped over both shoulders, covers the knees in rigid, cap-like folds. The outer edge of both tunic and mantle is embroidered with a wide pearl-and-dot border, and the folds of the tunic across the chest are indicated by broadly curving parallel stripes. The figure is thrown into sharp relief against a yellow background. The red field outside the mandorla is filled with yellow rosettes, which are composed in some cases of a central roundel surrounded by dots, in others of three pearls with dot filling.

Each of the two lateral compartments (Fig. 1) contains six Apostles, arranged in a pyramidal, rigidly symmetrical group. The Apostles wear plain nimbi, richly embroidered mantles, and long tunics, which flare outward at the lower edge or fly upward in puffs. Some are depicted with beards and others are beardless. Each has a circular spot, or *tache*, on cheeks and forehead, and each holds either a book or a scroll, while St. Peter, on the Saviour's right, is distinguished by a tonsure as well as the keys. The plain yellow ground behind the figures is filled with red rosettes, similar to those in the spandrels of the central compartment, and a pearl border surrounds each lateral compartment on three sides.

The frame enclosing the whole composition is embellished with an ornamental border which differs on the four sides: above, an intersecting ribbon, or perspective lozenge,

¹For many of the illustrations published in this article I am indebted to the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, *Rep. Ic. de Espana, cliché-Mas*, Sr. D. Jeroni Martorell, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Moreno, Giraudon, Mr. A. M. Friend, Dr. van Buren, M. Gudiol i Cunill, and Professor Charles R. Morey. I am especially indebted to Miss Belle da Costa Greene, director of Mr. Pierpont Morgan's library, who has lent me several photographs for reproduction. I also wish to thank Mr. Roger S. Loomis for the photograph of the Beatus MS. illustrated in the preceding article of this series, *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 21, and Mr. Robert I. Powell, of the Princeton School of Architecture, who made the drawing of the Berenguer sarcophagus shown in fig. 7 of the same article.

²See *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, pp. 85 ff.

³Museum of Fine Arts, Barcelona, no. 2; acquired in 1904; according to the dealer, Sr. Dupont, from whom it was purchased, the panel came from a church in the region of La Seo d'Urgel; tempera on panel; the ornament on the lower border of the frame has almost entirely disappeared, but otherwise the work is in excellent condition. The brilliant colors are unusually well preserved.

with acanthus filling; on the left, a series of tangent medallion rosettes which also contain acanthus filling; on the right, a foliate scroll with palmettes; and below, traces of *rinceaux* now almost entirely effaced. The small insets at the corners, where metal clamps are employed in riveting the frame together, are decorated with a diaper pattern with roundel filling.

In the second Barcelona altar-frontal (Fig. 2)¹ the Saviour, in the central compartment, almost duplicates the Saviour shown in Fig. 1. He is enthroned in the same manner within a globe-mandorla, the inner and outer bands of which are ornamented with a pearl border. The segments of the globe-mandorla in this case, however, are circular, whereas in the other panel they are slightly elliptical. The blessing right hand is raised in the same relative position, but a small ball, or other circular object, is held between the fingers. The beard is pointed and the facial type is longer and more rectangular in appearance because of a prolongation of the contours of the neck.

The chief divergence of the second frontal appears in its lateral compartments, which are subdivided into eight small rectangles, each containing two standing figures, relieved against alternate red and yellow backgrounds framed by a heavy band of pearl-and-dot ornament. Four of the sixteen figures can be identified with certainty. St. Peter, with the key, is the first figure in the upper compartment on the right. St. Martin is in the adjoining end panel, where we read the inscription MAR(tinus). With a short-bladed knife he divides his cloak with the beggar, who, save for his bare feet, is already well clad in heavy mantle and long leggings and carries a staff passed through two rings at the ends of a chain hung over his right shoulder. The same saint, again with the inscription MAR(tinus), appears as a bishop saint, with nimbus, tonsure, pænula, and pallium, in the upper compartment on the left, next to the *Majestas*. He blesses with his right hand and holds a crozier in his left, the crook turned in toward the shoulder. The lay figure beside him is so mutilated that it cannot be identified with certainty, but the absence of a nimbus suggests that it represents the catechumen who was miraculously restored to life. Each of the twelve figures in the remaining compartments is shown with halo, book, long tunic, and mantle. They unquestionably represent the twelve Apostles, an interpretation confirmed by their bare feet, since St. Martin alone is depicted with shoes. A slight differentiation appears in that they are alternately bearded and beardless. As in the preceding antependium, there is the frontal stance and the gaze of the Apostles directed toward the Saviour, although here the heads are not inclined inward.

A Leonine inscription, written on the horizontal bands which divide the upper and lower registers, reads,

SOL ET LVX SANC TORVM MANEO PRECLARA BONORVM

The four sides of the frame are decorated with bands of ornament disposed exactly as in the preceding panel: at the top, a deeper perspective lozenge with more highly conventionalized acanthus filling; below, the same intricate *rinceaux*, much better preserved; at the right, an almost identical design, but with medallions closer together; at the left, however, medallions with palmettes and animals (lion and bird). At the corners appear the same rectangular insets with diaper-and-bead pattern, together with all four metal clamps.

¹Museum of Fine Arts, Barcelona, no. 1; little is known of the history or provenance of this work prior to its acquisition by the museum; tempera on panel; longer and narrower than the preceding; the background of the central figure and portions of the drapery in the left compartment have been damaged, but otherwise the colors are fresh and well preserved.



FIG. 2—BARCELONA, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: ALTAR—FRONTAL. CHRIST IN MAJESTY, SAINTS, AND OTHER FIGURES

The perspective lozenge, or intersecting ribbon, at the top of the frame, is obviously a doubling of the zigzag ribbon which we have considered in connection with the Vich altar-canopy.¹ It is a particular favorite with the Ottonian illuminators of the eleventh and twelfth centuries² and is also found, in a modified form, in Lombard art in Italy.³ During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it is widespread in France (Fig. 43),⁴ whence it seems to have passed into Catalonia, since we find it in the Romanesque frescoes of San Miquel de la Seo and Sant Martí de Fenollar⁵ as well as on the façade of Ripoll.⁶ It is therefore quite possible that the *motif* migrated from Germany to Lombardy and thence to France and Spain, following the route of the double-axe pattern.⁷

The rosette medallions on the left side of the frame of the first panel (Fig. 1) are derived from an all-over pattern of intersecting circles. Reduced to its lowest terms as a simple geometric *motif* and devoid of foliate filling, this pattern is found in common use throughout the Roman Empire, occurring most frequently in the floor mosaics of Northern Africa and Southern Gaul.⁸ In Spain it was not only employed during the late Roman period, as in the well-known mosaics at Tarragona, Barcelona, and Mallorca,⁹ but it persisted in sixth-century Visigothic monuments at Toledo, Cordova, and Tarrassa.¹⁰ Thereafter its appearance in the peninsula prior to the thirteenth century is sporadic. An example occurs in the sculptured cornice of San Juan de los Caballeros at Segovia.¹¹ It is

¹The Art Bulletin, loc. cit., p. 97.

²Evangelary of Otto III, cod. lat. 4453, Munich, with foliate filling (Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Handschriften der Kgl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*, I, pl. 2); Perikopenbuch of Henry II, cod. lat. 4452, Munich, with foliate filling (*ibid.*, V, pl. 6); Evangelary from the cathedral treasury of Bamberg, cod. lat. 4454, Munich (*ibid.*, VI, pl. 20); Gumpertsbibel in Erlangen, XII century (Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei*, pl. XLII, fig. 132); Perikopenbuch from Passau, Munich, Clm. 16002 (*ibid.*, pl. LXXXIX, fig. 303); Gospels from Weihestephane, ribbon doubled back (*ibid.*, pl. XCII, fig. 313); Missal, sacristy of cathedral, Trent (Hermann, *Die ill. Handschriften in Tirol*, fig. 119); Cologne Gospels, Priesterseminar (H. Ehl, *Die Ottonische Buchmalerei*, Bonn, Leipzig, 1922, fig. 112). It is found in German stained glass at Colmar (Arthur Martin and Charles Cahier, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Bourges*, Paris, 1841-1844, pl. 8aH, fig. 1).

³Illuminated manuscript, Mantua, Municipal Library, cod. C, III, 20 (Toesca, *op. cit.*, fig. 50); cf. the all-over pattern on the southern jamb, western portal, cathedral of Trani (Bari) (A. K. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, pl. 210), which is identical in type with that of the Gospels of Weihestephane (Swarzenski, loc. cit.).

⁴The Bible of Saint-Aubin d'Angers has been dated by Boinet in the X century, but the style accords rather with the late XI or XII. The *motif* appears in sculpture at Semur-en-Brionnais (Saône-et-Loire), church of St.-Hilary (Victor Terret, *La sculpture bourguignonne aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Autun, Paris, 1914, pl. XXXI); Chartres, west façade (E. Houvet, *Portail occidental ou royal*, pls. 5, 6); L'Île-Bouchard (Indre-et-Loire), capital of ambulatory, orphries of chasuble (Porter, *op. cit.*, pl. 1107); Charlieu (Loire), portal (R. de Lasteyrie, *L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane*, Paris, 1912, fig. 688); St.-Junien (Hte.-Vienne), tomb of St.-Junien, shaft (*ibid.*, fig. 681); and in frescoes at St.-Savin (Vienne) (Gélis-Didot and Laffillée, *op. cit.*, pls. 2 (10), 3 (2)); church of St.-Jacques-des-Guérêts (Loir-et-Cher) (*ibid.*, figs. B, C, D); church of St.-Désiré (Allier) (*ibid.*, pl. 8 (8)); cathedral of Clermont (Puy-de-Dôme), as an all-over pattern (*ibid.*, pl. 21 (11)); Montoire (Loir-et-Cher), in parallel rows (*ibid.*, pl. 5 (8)). Examples are found in England at Kempsey (Gloucestershire), fresco, chancel of church (N. H. J. Westlake, *History of Design in Mural Painting*, London, 1905, II, pl. CXCVIII); Copford (Essex) (*ibid.*, pl. CCXIV); North English Psalter, late XII century, Copenhagen Museum, Thotts saml. 143, 2°, fols. 14, 15v (M. Mackeprang et al., *Greek and Latin Illuminated Manuscripts, X-XIII Centuries, in Danish Collections*, Copenhagen, 1921, pls. LIV, LV).

⁵*Pintures murals catalanes*, fasc. II, pl. VII, fig. 9.

⁶Porter, *op. cit.*, pl. 571. It appears also on the south portal of the Colegiata at Tudela, *ibid.*, pl. 788.

⁷R. B. O'Connor, *The Mediæval History of the Double-Axe Motif*, A. J. A., XXIV, pp. 151 ff.

⁸For a list see Paul Clemen, *Die romanische Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden*, Düsseldorf, 1916, p. 71, n. 186.

⁹Mosaic of "Medusa," Tarragona Museum, no. 2921; mosaic of the "Three Graces," Barcelona, Museum of Santa Agueda, no. 797; mosaic from the baths of S. Maria (Palma de Mallorca); mosaic of St. Just Desvern, all-over pattern; mosaic of Puig de Cebolla, near Saguntum, all-over pattern, illustrated in Puig y Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1911, I, figs. 264, 259, 342, 272, 290. The design is employed also as an all-over pattern in the Ibero-Mycenaean period, e. g., *Pedra ferosa* of Sabroso, Pierre Paris, *Essai sur l'art et l'industrie de l'Espagne primitive*, Paris, 1903, I, fig. 24.

¹⁰Relief from the Visigothic church of San Ginés, Toledo (*Monumentos arquitectónicos de España*, Toledo, I, pl. 4); chancel relief, VI century, Loja (Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, III, pl. CCXXV); relief from Cordova; impost block, church of San Juan de Baños (Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la edad media*, Madrid, 1908, I, figs. 50, 52); apse mosaic, church of Sant Pere de Tarrassa (Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 351).

¹¹Enrique Serrano Fatigati, *Escultura en España*, Madrid, 1900, p. 15.

also found early in the East¹ and in mosaics in Early Christian basilicas in Rome,² but it is rare in Merovingian and Carolingian manuscripts and ivories.³ The Roman form appears in the late eleventh-century frescoes in the church of St. Michael at Fulda and in the cathedral of Essen,⁴ but it seems to have been omitted from the repertoire of the Ottonian illuminators, who copied so many Roman mosaic patterns, such as the double-axe and the perspective meander.⁵ Indeed, the intersecting-circle *motif*, either as an all-over pattern or as a border ornament, does not become common in Western Europe until the thirteenth century, when it is found in sculpture, frescoes, manuscripts, and stained glass.⁶ In the Byzantine examples, on the other hand, a pronounced preference is shown for the pattern with foliate filling, which appears early and late.⁷ It is this particular version of the rosette medallion that we have on our panel, and since it is almost entirely lacking in Western art prior to the thirteenth century, when it is chiefly employed in stained glass, its appearance must be considered as an indication of advanced date in the Romanesque period.

The ornament on the left side of the frame of the second panel, medallions containing birds, lion, and foliate palmettes (Fig. 2), is rendered in a manner typical of the fully developed Romanesque. The use of animals within medallions is Eastern in origin; but the treatment here differs from earlier Moslem and Mozarabic examples, where the tail of

¹Rabula Gospels, from Zagba, Mesopotamia, columns and arches of canon tables (Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, III, pls. 129, 130, 133, 134, 135); Coptic funerary stele (Al. Gayet, *L'art copte*, Paris, 1902, p. 227); Coptic stone frieze, Metropolitan Museum, New York City, no. 2828g 41; door of S. Sabina, Rome (A. Colasanti, *L'arte bizantina in Italia*, Milan, pl. 71); Vienna Dioscurides, Med. Gr. I, fol. 3v, c. 512 (A. de Premerstein, *Dioscurides, Codex Aniciae Iulianae picturis illustratus, nunc Vindobonensis*, Leyden, 1906); Gospels of Monza, book-cover, VII century (Auguste Molinier, *Les manuscrits et les miniatures*, Paris, 1892, p. 105); inlaid revetment of wall, border ornament (536-547), S. Vitale, Ravenna (Colasanti, *op. cit.*, pl. 76); altar-frontal, or pluteus, bishop's palace, Ravenna (*ibid.*, pl. 75); pavement mosaic, palace of Theodoric (*ibid.*, pl. 99). Later examples are: pavement mosaic, church of St. Luke, Phocis (Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, fig. 251); mosaics (1143), La Martorana, Palermo (Colasanti, *op. cit.*, pls. 29, 31); mosaics, Capella Palatina, Palermo (Arne Dehli, *Norman Monuments of Palermo and Environs*, Boston, 1892, pl. XII); floor mosaics, S. Cataldo, Palermo (Wilhelm Zahn, *Ornamente aller klassischen Kunst-epochen*, Berlin, 1870, pl. 78); altar-frontal, *opus Alexandrinum*, Ferentino (A. D. F. Hamlin, *A History of Ornament*, New York, 1916, fig. 243).

²San Marco, floor mosaics of choir, c. 800 (Matthew D. Wyatt, *Specimens of the Geometrical Mosaic of the Middle Ages*, London, 1848, pl. 2, fig. 1); San Giovanni Laterano (*ibid.*, pl. 4, 3); San Giovanni e Paolo (*ibid.*, pl. 5, 1); San Lorenzo f. l. m. (*ibid.*, pl. 7). See also an VIII-century South Italian manuscript (British Museum, Add. 5463, fol. 2), arch of canon table.

³A debased Merovingian border example is shown by Fulda MS., cod. Bonif. 2, fol. 99 (Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, pl. 68) and an early Carolingian example is found in fresco at Aix-la-Chapelle (Clemen, *op. cit.*, fig. 23).

⁴Clemen, *op. cit.*, figs. 56, 57, 93.

⁵A double twisted ribbon which often appears on the canon tables of Ottonian manuscripts produces an effect somewhat analogous to the mosaic pattern, but it was not necessarily derived from the same source as the *motif* of the frescoes of Fulda and Essen (e. g., Stephan Beissel, *Die Bilder der Handschrift des Kaisers Otto im Münster zu Aachen*, Aachen, 1886, pls. 1, 2, 19, 22, 25, 26); Gospels of Bamberg, cod. lat. 4454 (Leidinger, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 8); Canon tables, Gospel of Matthew, Gospels of Otto (Hermann Hieber, *Die Miniaturen des frühen Mittelalters*, Munich, 1912, fig. 70). An all-over pattern of similar character appears on the background of a page of Mark in the Codex Egberti (Franz X. Kraus, *Die Miniaturen des Codex Egberti*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1884, pl. IV). Cf. also Gospels, MS. 18583, Brussels, Royal Library (Ehl, *op. cit.*, pl. 28).

⁶*Sculpture*: Étampes (Seine-et-Oise), west portal, archivolt (Porter, *op. cit.*, pl. 1413); Chartres, west front, colonnettes (E. Houbert, *op. cit.*, pl. 5); Tocane-Saint-Apre, fragment of stone chancel (de Lasteyrie, *L'architecture religieuse*, 1912, fig. 82). *Frescoes*: church of the Jacobins (Lot-et-Garonne), XIII century, with star fillings; cathedral of LePuy, (Hte.-Loire), XII-XIII century; church of St.-Michel d'Aiguille, near Le Puy, all-over pattern; St. Jacques-des-Guérêts (Loir-et-Cher) (Gélis-Didot and Laffillée, *op. cit.*, pls. 20 (5), 21 (3, 4), 23 (8), ch. V, fig. B); church of St. Catherine, Hocheppan (N. H. J. Westlake, *op. cit.*, 1905, II, pl. CCXXVII, H). *Manuscripts*: Salerno, cathedral sacristy, Exultet roll, XIII century (A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, III, figs. 668-674, 677, 681, 684); Bibl. Casanatense, Exultet roll (*Mélanges d'arch. et d'histoire*, VI, 1886, pls. VII, VIII). *Stained Glass*: Tours, cathedral, chapel of the Virgin; Sens, cathedral, apse; Clermont-Ferrand, cathedral; Strassburg, church of St. Thomas (Arthur Martin and Charles Cahier, *op. cit.*). Other Italian examples are found in Montecassino, church of St. Benedict, pavement mosaic, end of XI century (E. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, pl. V); Piacenza, palazzo civico, lunette of window (Camille Martin, *L'art roman en Italie*, Paris, 1912, I, pl. 25 (2)); Civita Castellana, cathedral, door jamb (Wyatt, *op. cit.*, pl. 12, fig. 8 C).

⁷VI-century silver dish from Cyprus (Dalton, *op. cit.*, fig. 436); Br. Mus., Add. MS. 5111, fol. 10, VI-VII century (Arthur Haseloff, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1898, fig. 1; for color illustrations see Henry Shaw, *Illuminated Ornaments selected from Manuscripts and early printed Books*, London, 1833, all-over pattern and border); Br. Mus., Add. MS. 11870, fol. 188 (Warner, *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1910, pl. 1).



FIG. 5—RIPOLL, MONASTERY OF SANTA MARIA:
DETAIL FROM PORTAL



FIG. 4—RIPOLL, MONASTERY OF SANTA MARIA:
DETAIL FROM PORTAL

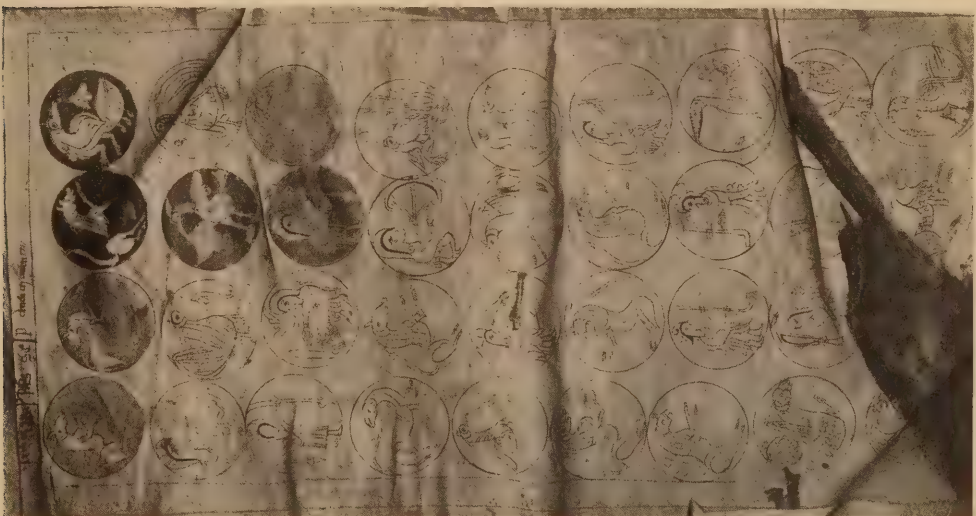


FIG. 3—LEON, CATHEDRAL ARCHIVES: PAGE FROM
MOZARABIC MS. X-XI CENTURY

the lion turns up over the back, as shown in a manuscript page at Leon (Fig. 3). In our panel the tail is brought up between the legs, a *motif* which is common in Eastern textiles¹ and appears in Western art as early as the ninth century. It is seen in the Gospels of Lothaire,² the Paliotto of Milan,³ and is widespread throughout Europe in twelfth-century Romanesque sculpture (cf. Fig. 4).⁴ The highly conventionalized balls of foliage, moreover, are typical of the middle and second half of the century.⁵ The alternation of animal and foliate motives, enclosed within medallions, is similar in arrangement to the band of ornament on an archivolt of the doorway at Ripoll (Fig. 4), and an even closer parallel is found in the twelfth-century stained glass at Chartres.⁶

The *rincaux*, which is clearly visible on the lower border of the second panel (Fig. 2) and of which traces still exist in a corresponding position on the first (Fig. 1), is a development of the old Roman acanthus scroll. It assumes here the involutions seen in the late Imperial period and is found in similar form in the mosaics of S. Giovanni in Fonte at Ravenna and in the Lateran at Rome (apse of the chapel of SS. Rufina e Secunda), both of the fifth century.⁷ The ornament is very common in sixth-century Italy. In the Carolingian period it appears, together with other late Classic borrowings, in the ornamental repertoire of the manuscript illuminators of Tours,⁸ and after this period it is so widespread that further citations are unnecessary. A particular favorite with metal workers from the eleventh century on, it appears on the Felicia book-cover in the Metropolitan Museum,⁹ and our artist may have borrowed his pattern from such a source.

The acanthus filling in the arc which appears underneath the feet of Christ in both panels is derived ultimately from an English source; for the combination of leaves and enclosing band is characteristic of Anglo-Saxon borders.¹⁰ The stiff verticality of the leaves and the sharp vigor of their terminal curl are proto-Gothic in effect and can be paralleled in many sculptured examples of the second half of the twelfth century.¹¹ The actual combination of these proto-Gothic leaves and their arcuated border is to be found in a twelfth-century fresco of the church of Petit-Quévilly (Seine-Inférieure).¹²

We have already noted that the perspective zigzag ribbon of the Vich altar-canopy appears in identical form on the portal and attic of Ripoll (Fig. 4) and that a close parallel for the alternating-animal-and-rosette medallions also is found on a carved archivolt of the same church. These analogies recall the fact that the ornamental border, as well as certain iconographic peculiarities, of the St. Martin antependium from Montgrony re-

¹Otto v. Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin, 1913, figs. 248, 258 (Byzantine); figs. 187, 189, 193, 204 (Moorish); fig. 269 (Italian).

²Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIII.

³Excellent illustrations of this important monument have been published by Nello Tarchiani in *Dedalo*, II, 1921.

⁴Italy: Modena (Venturi, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 234); Trani (Martin Wackernagel, *Die Plastik des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts in Apulien*, Leipzig, 1911, pl. XXX). France: Angoulême (Marcou, *Musée de sculpture comparée*, Paris 1892, Series I, pl. 39); Châlons-sur-Marne (*ibid.*, pl. 54). Catalonia: Elne, Sant Benet de Bagés, Llansá, San Juan de las Abadeses, Ripoll, Sant Pere de Besalú (Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, III, figs. 363-4, 411, 936, 1070, 1192, 1213).

⁵Chartres, west front (Houvet, *op. cit.*, pl. 36; also see J. B. A. Lassus and A. P. Duval, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Chartres*, Paris, 1865, pl. B); Le Mans, window of Sts. Gervasius and Protasius (Hucher, *Vitraux peints de la cathédrale du Mans*, pl. 13).

⁶Window of the Infancy of Christ (Lassus and Duval, *op. cit.*, pls. A-E); cf. also the early XII-century lintel of the door on the north side of the cathedral of Troia (Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV b).

⁷Colasanti, *op. cit.*, pl. 76; De Rossi, *Mosaici cristiani di Roma*, pl. XI.

⁸Gospels of St. Gauzelin; Bible of Bamberg; Sacramentary of Marmoutier (Boinet, *op. cit.*, pls. XXVIII, XXIX, XLIII).

⁹J. Breck, *Spanish Ivories in the Morgan Collection*, in *A. J. A.*, XXIV, 1920, p. 224, fig. 3.

¹⁰Warner, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 1910, pls. 7-11.

¹¹Notre-Dame, Laon (Aisne), capitals (Marcou, *op. cit.*, Series I, pls. 55, 56).

¹²Gélis-Didot and Laffillée, *op. cit.*, pl. XI (2).

appear on the tomb of Berenguer the Great at this monastery of Ripoll. With these indications in mind, one is prepared to find the connection between the two panels and Ripoll finally confirmed.

A strip of carved ornament on the façade of Ripoll (Fig. 5) is analogous to that found on the right of the frames of our two panels. The pattern consists of a stem with branches curling backward to form medallions; the ends cross the main stem and break out into foliation, and, to balance, a corresponding leaf is added on the opposite side. In our panels a cabbage-like palmette and, alternating with it, a ball of foliage are enclosed within the medallions; at Ripoll this leaf ball is replaced by a variant of the palmette with closed leaves. The *motif* appears in Lombard sculpture in Northern and Southern Italy,¹ and Puig y Cadafalch has shown that the façade of Ripoll, executed about the middle of the twelfth century, exhibits many Lombard features.² The appearance of the pattern at Ripoll may therefore be ascribed to the presence of Lombard workmen or Catalan sculptors who imitated Lombard models. Its transcription into painting, as shown on our panels, produces a richer effect in the foliage, like that in the English illuminated borders, but the source of the pattern is clearly the ornamental repertoire used at Ripoll. The relationship between the two panels and the carving at Ripoll is important because the *motif* is sufficiently rare in mediæval ornament to be considered as strong evidence of a community of school.

As suggested above, our two panels show so many points of similarity that they are obviously the products of the same atelier, if not of the same artist. Yet there are significant points of divergence in the facial types, an analysis of which will serve to establish the regional character of the panels, which is native to the Iberian peninsula. In Fig. 2 the Saviour's nose is drawn after the same formula as in the St. Martin panel from Montgrony and in the Vich altar-canopy, a Spanish mannerism which reverts to Italo-Byzantine models. In Fig. 1, on the other hand, and, for that matter, in the side panels of Fig. 2, a new version appears; the tip of the nose is drawn as a continuation of the nostrils, producing a widespread, flat appearance. This characteristic feature, together with a long mouth turned down at the corners, diminutive ears, wide-open eyes, and the block-like treatment of the Apostles' heads (Fig. 1), shown in three-quarters view, constitutes a local Catalan type which appears first in the Gospel pages of the Bible of Farfa³ and later in twelfth-century Catalan manuscripts. Many of the faces in both our panels might have been copied line for line from such manuscript models as the page of the Crucifixion now in the museum at Vich (Fig. 6) or that of St. John in the Gospels of Perpignan (Fig. 32), written in the Catalan monastery of Sant Miquel de Cuixá. The quality of the drawing in our panels is far superior to that in the manuscripts, but the close community of school is betrayed by the identical rendering of the nose, mouth, ears, and eyes. Nothing, in fact, illustrates better the close dependence of the panel painter upon native manuscript models. The gaze turned sharply to right or left in faces which are completely, or nearly, frontal is, of course, a common Romanesque convention, but its exaggeration in our panels is a local Spanish mannerism, though there is no such comic exaggeration as that in the figures of Adam and Eve, for example, on a page of the Escorial Beatus.⁴

Local mannerisms appear also in the drapery style of our panels. Especially noticeable is the mannered rendering of the Languedoc "flying fold." The ends of the

¹Parma, lunette of south portal (Porter, *Lombard Sculpture*, pl. 164 (2)); Sagra, S. Michele di S. Ambrogio, Badia (*ibid.*, pl. 196 A (2)); Acerenza, cathedral (Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, pl. XV a).

²*Op. cit.*, pp. 815-848.

³Neuss, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁴Escorial Library, & II. 5, fol. 6.

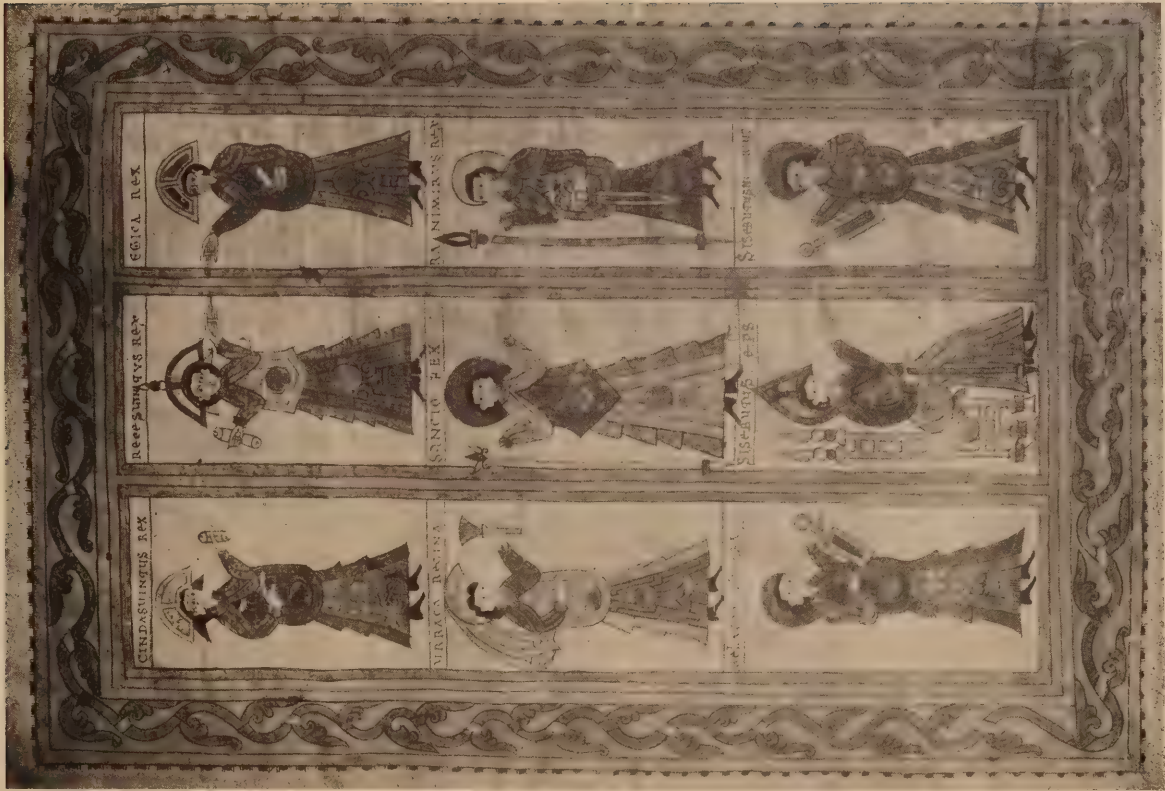


FIG. 7—ESCORIAL LIBRARY: CODEX AEMILIANENSIS, FOL. 453. X CENTURY



FIG. 6—VICH, EPISCOPAL MUSEUM: PAGE FROM CATALAN MS. XII CENTURY

tunics worn by two of the Apostles in Fig. 1 are puffed upwards at both sides as if wired in place, an illogical rendering which lacks the motivation of such models as the tympanum of Moissac.¹ This hardened, thimble-like version is found elsewhere in Catalonia, as on the drapery of several figures in the frescoes of Sant Miquel de la Seo.² Another local drapery feature, and one seldom found in works outside this region, is seen on the figure of the beggar with whom St. Martin shares his mantle. The long leggings turned up around the ankles to form a cuff are somewhat like those worn by Castor and Pollux in a Ripoll manuscript of the eleventh century, now in the Vatican (Fig. 8). Equally characteristic of the Catalan manuscript style are the stiff, tube-like tunics, cut longer in the back than in front (Fig. 2). The same rigid garments appear in the *Moralia* of Gregory at Vich,³ in a thirteenth-century missal at Tortosa,⁴ and on several pages of the Gerona Homilies of Bede.⁵ An analysis of the technical methods employed by the artist in his delineation of drapery offers additional evidence of dependence upon manuscript models. The small dots and groups of parallel lines, also shown in the fresco of Sant Miquel de la Seo, are executed with fine brushes, evidently retaining the pen tradition of manuscript illumination.

The subdivision of the lateral compartments of our second panel (Fig. 2) into small rectangles, each surrounded by a heavy band of ornament, is not common in other Catalan panels. A similar arrangement appears, however, in the Mozarabic manuscripts of Leon-Castile, such as the *Vigilanus* of 976 and the *Aemilianensis* (Fig. 7), where each of the small rectangles encloses a single figure. The pyramidal grouping of the Apostles, so noticeable a feature of our first panel (Fig. 1), follows an ancient convention of placing one figure above another to represent a crowd. This arrangement appears as early as the second century on the column of Trajan and is continued throughout the Middle Ages as a well understood formula serving as a substitute for perspective. A good late eleventh or twelfth-century example may be seen in the Bible of Roda,⁶ and in the tenth-century Bible of Leon (Fig. 9) we find six figures grouped in the same pyramidal composition as in Fig. 1. The rigid, frontal stance of the Apostles, with feet turned outward, and the two groups of inclined heads, placed at equal distances from the vertical axis and carrying the eye toward the central figure of the Saviour, produce effective symmetry and balance.

The coloring is one of the most striking features of these panels. The use of an alternating sequence of red and yellow backgrounds, high in intensity, produces an æsthetic reaction similar to that given by the Mozarabic manuscript style. In both panels there is the same restricted palette of reds, yellows, greens, and blacks, resulting in a color contrast unique and unmistakably Spanish.

The date of our two panels has already been indicated by the numerous analogies to monuments of the middle or second half of the twelfth century. The source of some of the ornamental motives, such as the intersecting circles with foliate fillings, *rinceaux*, animals within medallions, and perspective lozenges, has taken us back to Roman, Early Christian, and Carolingian prototypes. But it is noteworthy that, in each case, the particular form of the pattern which appears on these two panels is the late version used in manuscripts, stained glass, frescoes, and sculpture in the second half of the twelfth century and in the

¹*The Art Bulletin*, loc. cit., fig. 24.

²*Pintures murals catalanes*, pls. VII, IX, X.

³*The Art Bulletin*, loc. cit., fig. 15.

⁴Illustrated in *Art Studies*, vol. II. fig. 32.

⁵J. Sachs, in *Vell i Nou (primera epoca)*, V, pp. 291, 331, 335.

⁶*The Art Bulletin*, loc. cit., fig. 12.

thirteenth. The foliate scroll on the right of the frame of both panels is so similar to the strip of ornament at Ripoll that one wonders whether our artist did not copy this directly from the façade of the monastery immediately after the completion of the latter, about the middle of the century.

Such a date is confirmed by the drapery. We have noted that the hardened, thimble-like version of the Languedoc "flying fold" is analogous to that seen in Catalan art of the second half of the twelfth century, and that the stiff, tube-like tunic, with lining showing at the bottom, is found in the local manuscript style of the period. Lastly, the curving Moissac folds on the tunic of the Saviour show the persistence of the South French tradition, which appears also in the fresco from Santa Maria de Mur, now in the Boston Museum, which, as I have shown elsewhere, is not earlier than the second half of the twelfth century.¹

To this evidence may be added that of the unmistakably local facial types, the bullet heads with characteristic wide-spread nostrils, so closely paralleled in such Catalan illumination as the Crucifixion at Vich and the Gospels of Perpignan. But most convincing of all is the general feeling of style typical of the fully developed Romanesque. The evidence is so overwhelming that the dating of these two panels in the eleventh century, as suggested by Casellas and von Sydow,² or even in the beginning of the twelfth, as proposed by Mayer,³ must be rejected. A *terminus ad quem* is furnished by the palæography and the omission in the central compartments of the signs of the Evangelists, which are constant features of later Romanesque Majesties. Accordingly, we must conclude that these two altar-frontals, the product of the same atelier or the same artist, were painted about the middle of the twelfth century.

(4) The Iconography of the Globe-Mandorla

In the two panels discussed above the *Majestas Domini* is enthroned at the intersection of two circles or ellipses. Since this arrangement does not appear elsewhere among the Catalan antependia, its use here deserves special mention. The following discussion is in the nature of an excursus and will lead us somewhat far afield, but it is useful in giving an iconographic support to our conclusion as to the French influence evident in these two altar-frontals. The double-circle *motif* of our panels originated in the ninth century in the Carolingian school of St. Denis, where the intersection of the globe, on which the Saviour is enthroned, and the mandorla, placed behind the figure, produces a new iconographic type which we may call the globe-mandorla.

(A) The Hellenistic Globe Type

The earliest Hellenistic examples of the Saviour enthroned in Majesty show the figure of Christ as Logos or Emmanuel seated on the globe, or throne of heaven, in scenes of the *Traditio Legis*, the *Traditio Clavium*, or in the act of blessing the crowns of saints. The earliest extant monument which shows this globe type is a fourth-century mosaic in Santa Costanza at Rome.⁴ The Saviour, bearded and nimbed, is enthroned slightly below the upper rim of the sphere. He is giving the law to Moses, who stands on His right. The type is shown in Fig. 10, a catacomb fresco in the cemetery of Commodilla,

¹A. J. A., XXVII, 1923, pp. 63-64.

²Ramon Casellas, *Museum Notice*, Museum of Fine Arts, Barcelona; v. Sydow, *op. cit.*, p. 26, pl. I.

³Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 21, fig. 101. No date is given by Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, III, figs. 756, 758.

⁴Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 207, 2. An excellent color plate is shown in W. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1916, III, pl. 5, pp. 293 ff. According to Wilpert (*ibid.*, p. 591, n. 5) the Hellenistic globe of heaven on which the Saviour is enthroned was adopted by Early Christian artists from Classical models. Cf. W. de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antiqué*, fig. 202.



FIG. 8—ROME, VATICAN LIBRARY: PAGE OF MS. FROM SANTA MARIA DE RIPOLL, REGINA LAT. 123. CASTOR AND POLLUX. MIDDLE XI CENTURY



FIG. 9—LEON, COLEGIATA DE SAN ISIDORO: PAGE FROM BIBLE OF LEON. DATED 960

dated by Wilpert in the seventh century.¹ Here the beardless Saviour, holding a large Book of the Gospels on His left knee, delivers the key to St. Peter, who stands beside Him at His right. An occasional variant appears in which the Saviour is not seated but stands on the sphere, as in a mosaic of the second half of the fourth century in the Baptistry of St. John at Naples.² In a seventh-century mosaic of San Teodoro at Rome³ the globe is studded with stars; this may be regarded as evidence that in these early Hellenistic examples Christ is seated on the sphere of heaven and not on the globe of earth. The artists were obviously inspired by such references as "The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool" (Isaiah, 66, 1; Acts, 7, 49), "the Lord's throne is in heaven" (Psalms, 11, 4), and "neither by heaven; for it is God's throne: nor by the earth; for it is his footstool" (Matthew, 5, 34-35). This globe type with the seated Saviour was common in Italian mosaics, frescoes, ivories, and manuscripts from the fourth to the eighth century,⁴ and it is so restricted to Western monuments that it can be termed a distinct feature of the Latin style.⁵

From Italy the type spread northward into France and was adopted, together with other late Classic motives, by the early artists of the Carolingian Renaissance. A page from the late eighth-century Apocalypse of Trèves (Fig. 11) shows the Saviour seated as in Fig. 10 but accompanied by the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse.⁶ In the Stuttgart Psalter, of the same date,⁷ the feet of Christ are supported by a rectangular footstool, and, as Judge of the World, He holds a pair of scales in His right hand. The globe appears also in the first third of the ninth century in the Gospels of St. Victor of Xanten⁸ and the Utrecht Psalter⁹ and was an important element, as will be shown later, in the formation of a new type in the schools of Tours, Rheims, and St. Denis. It is significant, however, that the globe type (that is, the Hellenistic form, without a mandorla) does not occur in West Frankish illumination of the tenth and eleventh centuries. An occasional example is found in East Frankish schools, such as that shown by the title page of an eleventh-century Ottonian Book of the Gospels in the municipal library at Trèves (cod. lat. 23),¹⁰ which might easily have been inspired by such a model as that in the Trèves Apocalypse (Fig. 11). In this Ottonian manuscript the Saviour is enthroned slightly below the rim of the sphere, as in Fig. 10, but the artist has added a smaller globe which serves as a footstool for the Saviour's feet. Professor Clemen's statement that "*Der Salvator sitzt auf der Weltkugel*"¹¹ misses the significance of the two globes; the Ottonian artist has merely rendered with greater fidelity the scripture already cited: "The heaven is my throne, and the earth [*Weltkugel*] is my footstool."

¹Wilpert, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 945-6. An excellent color plate of this fresco is found in vol. IV, pls. 148-9.

²*Ibid.*, pl. 32, fig. 68.

³Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 252, 3.

⁴Additional examples which show this type are as follows. *Mosaics*: Rome, S. Agata in Subura, second half of V century (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 240, 2); Ravenna, S. Vitale, c. 530-547 (*ibid.*, IV, pl. 258); Rome, S. Lorenzo, 578-590 (De Rossi, *Mosaici cristiani e saggi dei pavimenti delle chiese di Roma, anteriori al secolo XV*, Rome, 1899, pl. 16); Parenzo, cathedral, VI century (Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 373). *Ivories*: Milan, cathedral, book-cover, c. 500 (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 455). *Manuscripts*: Lavanthal, Austria, archives of the Benedictine abbey of St. Paul, Latin Ms. no. 53, VI century (?), written in Italy (Robert Eisler, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Kärnten*, Leipzig, 1907, pl. VIII).

⁵See also E. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence*, Princeton, 1918, p. 143.

⁶Another page from this manuscript has been illustrated by Clemen, *op. cit.*, fig. 46.

⁷H. Ehl, *Älteste deutsche Malerei*, Berlin, 1921, *Orbis Pictus*, vol. 10, p. 15.

⁸Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, pl. LX.

⁹Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIV.

¹⁰Clemen, *Die romanischen Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden*, fig. 194.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 258. Cf. Wilpert, *op. cit.*, p. 591-2.

The use of the globe as a seat for the *Majestas Domini* or for God the Father continued in Italian mosaics and frescoes long after the eighth century. Frequently in the later examples the figure is not seated in the frontal position, shown in Fig. 10, but in profile. Thus, in some of the Genesis scenes in the Basilica of St. Paul at Rome, the originals of which may date 891-896, God the Father is seated in profile on the globe (Creation of Adam and Creation of Eve),¹ and in one of the scenes, the Discovery of Adam and Eve, He is not seated but stands beside the globe of heaven.² The same profile position is followed on the walls of the tenth-century abbey church of St. Peter near Ferentillo (Creation of Adam),³ in the late eleventh-century fresco of S. Angelo in Formis (Woman taken in Adultery),⁴ in the Genesis scenes in the mosaics of the cathedral of Monreale,⁵ in an unknown church in Rome,⁶ and in the frescoes of the church of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina (1191-1198).⁷

In other sections of Europe, such as Southern and Central France and Catalonia, the globe was still in use during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the Catalan Bible of Farfa (Fig. 12) the Saviour is enthroned in the old Hellenistic manner, His feet resting on a segment of the earth-globe; and a page from the Gerona Homilies of Bede (Fig. 13) shows an example of the globe type as late as the twelfth century. Moreover, the type was not restricted in its use to the Saviour and God the Father, since we find the globe employed as a seat for saints and other personages in the vestibule frescoes of the church of St. Savin⁸ and for Pope Damasus in the Bible of St. Martial of Limoges (Fig. 14). Even in the Romanesque period, however, the Hellenistic globe remained essentially a purely Latin type. It is found only in those regions which came directly or indirectly under the influence of late Latin or Italian models, and its appearance in any monument of Western Europe after the eighth or ninth century is evidence of Italian tradition.⁹

(B) The Oriental Mandorla

The second important element in the formation of the globe-mandorla type, shown on our two Catalan panels, is the mandorla. An early example of the oval mandorla, or glory, sometimes termed a large nimbus, is found in a fourth-century Liberian mosaic in S. Maria Maggiore at Rome (352-366). It surrounds one of the three angels who visit

¹Wilpert, *op. cit.*, II, p. 576, figs. 229, 230. Cf. also fig. 237. One of the earliest preserved examples which shows this profile position is found on the ivory book-cover in the cathedral of Milan (Garr. *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 455).

²*Ibid.*, II, fig. 236.

³*Ibid.*, fig. 233.

⁴Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, fig. 99.

⁵Gravina, *Monreale*, pls. 15 B-F.

⁶Wilpert, *op. cit.*, fig. 241, p. 597.

⁷*Ibid.*, pls. 252-255, fig. 234.

⁸Gélis-Didot and Laffillée, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, figs. A, B. Cf. also Apocalyptic scene illustrated in Mérimée, *Notice sur les peintures de l'église de Saint-Savin*, Paris, 1845, pl. 3.

⁹An instance of the force of this iconographic habit is afforded by an Ascension on a Byzantine ivory plaque in the Carrand collection, Bargello, Florence (Jules Labarte, *Histoire des arts industriels au moyen âge et à l'époque de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1864, I, pl. IX; Hans Graeven, *Frühchristliche und mittelalterliche Elfenbeinwerke in photographischer Nachbildung. Serie II. Aus Sammlungen in Italien*, Göttingen, 1898, pl. 34). The Ascension follows the usual Eastern type (see E. T. Dewald, *The Iconography of the Ascension*, in *A. J. A.*, XIX, 1915, pp. 282 ff.) and the inscription is written in Greek. However, Christ is not seated in an Eastern mandorla but on a star-covered globe supported by two angels. The two angels show Oriental influence, but the globe is a Hellenistic motif. Accordingly, we must conclude that the ivory was executed by a Byzantine artist resident in Italy who substituted the Italian globe for the traditional Eastern mandorla. Two northern ivories that show interesting versions of the globe type have been published by Goldschmidt. On an ivory book-cover made in the early X century in Belgium, now in Darmstadt (Grossherzog. Museum, no. 509), Christ is seated on a circular wreath and His feet rest on the arc of the earth. On the book of the Gospels appears the inscription, "*data est mihi omnis potestas in celo et in t[er]ra*" (Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, pl. LXXIV, fig. 162). The same use of a wreath instead of a globe appears also on an ivory at Seitenstetten, Lower Austria, Stiftsammlung, which Goldschmidt dates 962-973 and assigns tentatively to the school of Milan or Reichenau (*ibid.*, II, pl. VI, fig. 16).

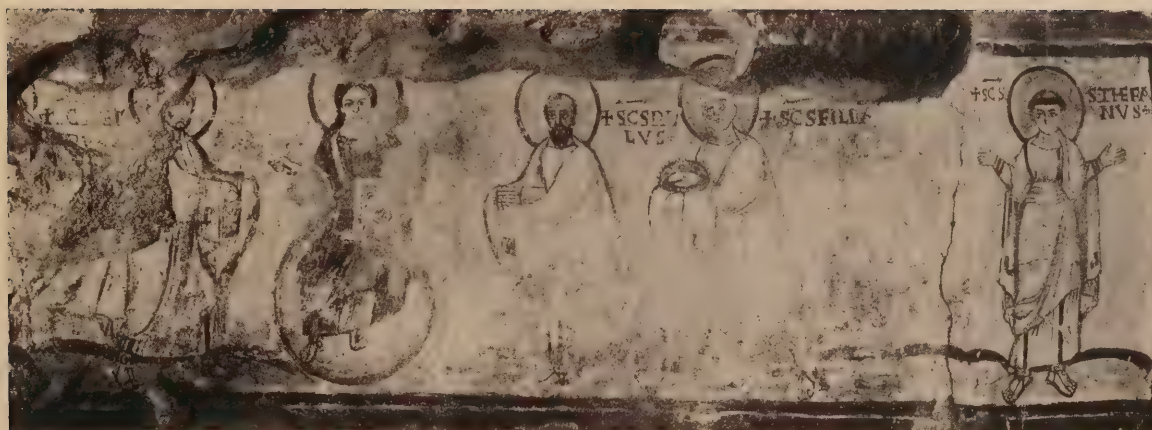


FIG. 10—ROME, CATACOMBS OF COMMODILLA: FRESCO. *The Traditio Clavium*. 668-685



FIG. 11—TRÈVES, MUNICIPAL LIBRARY: PAGE FROM THE APOCALYPSE OF TRÈVES, NO. 31. LATE VIII CENTURY



FIG. 12—ROME, VATICAN LIBRARY: PAGE FROM THE BIBLE OF FARFA. COD. VAT. LAT. 5729. XI CENTURY

Abraham, and in the same series of mosaics, in the scene of the stoning of Moses and his companions, these three figures are enclosed within an elliptical mandorla, or cloud.¹ St. Paulinus of Nola (fifth century) describes the large circular nimbus which surrounds the triumphal cross as a "*lucidus globus*," and his Greek contemporary, Palladius, refers to a similar glory as a "*trochòs púrinòs*."² In none of these examples, however, does the mandorla surround the figure of Christ. The earliest monuments which show the oval or elliptical mandorla in that use are found in the East, occurring in sixth-century scenes of the Ascension, the Transfiguration, and the *Majestas Domini*.

All the elements of the *Majestas* type are found in a miniature of the Rabula Gospel, written by the monk Rabula in the years 586-7 at Zagba, Mesopotamia.³ In the upper half of the scene of the Ascension a bearded and nimbed Christ stands within an oval mandorla; He holds a long scroll in His left hand and makes the gesture of benediction with His right. The mandorla is supported at the top by two angels, and two others, one on either side of the mandorla, offer crowns of glory on veiled hands. Beneath the mandorla are four wings filled with eyes, the heads of the Evangelistic symbols, and two pairs of whirling wheels covered with fire; a hand emerging from the wings points downward to the orant Virgin and the group of Apostles.

In Palestine⁴ the formula is simplified. In scenes of the Ascension on the sixth-century encolpia, or oil flasks, preserved in the cathedral treasury at Monza the nimbed and bearded Saviour does not stand but is seated on a throne, and He holds a square Book of the Gospels instead of a scroll. On one encolpium the mandorla is held by two angels,⁵ as in the Rabula Gospel, but on the other preserved examples four angels are employed,⁶ an iconographic feature which in later centuries became especially common in Western Europe.⁷

The *Majestas Domini* type with throne and mandorla was inspired by passages from the visions of Isaiah (6), Ezekiel (1; 10), Daniel (7), and Revelation (4). The glory, or mandorla, is described as "a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald" (Rev., 4, 3) and "as the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain" (Ezekiel, 1, 28). The Rabula Gospel version shows the Eastern conception of Ezekiel's vision of God, each detail of which was the subject of mystical interpretation and exegesis by the early church fathers.⁸

¹Wilpert, *op. cit.*, III, pls. 10, 21. According to Wilpert (*op. cit.*, p. 97) the earliest appearance of a mandorla or cloud in Early Christian art is found in the second half of the II century in a catacomb fresco (Sacramentary chapel A 2). The mandorla, or nimbus, is round, and Wilpert states that this is the only extant example in the early catacomb frescoes.

²*Ibid.*, I, pp. 99-100.

³Garrucci, *op. cit.*, III, pl. 139, 2.

⁴There is reason to believe that the Ascension type used in the Rabula Gospel originated in Asia Minor.

⁵*Ibid.*, pl. 433, 8.

⁶*Ibid.*, pls. 433, 10; 434, 2, 3; 435, 1.

⁷A list of monuments showing the mandorla supported by four angels has been compiled by Wilhelm Vöge (*Eine deutsche Malerschule um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, Trier, 1891, p. 269, n. 3).

⁸Origen interprets the vision in his Homilies on the Book of Ezekiel as a picture of the power of God over the world of the spirit (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, 13, coll. 665-767, Hom. I, 13). Apollinaris, the younger, of Laodicea, also considers the vision as an expression of the might of God (Wilhelm Neuss, *Das Buch Ezechiel in Theologie und Kunst bis zum Ende des XII. Jahrhunderts*, Münster in Westf., 1912, pp. 48-49). And Theodoret, the last of the great Fathers of Antioch, whose Commentary was composed before the year 436, states that "the brightness of the Saviour shows that He is near, the fire shows that He cannot be approached. He Himself is light. . . . He stands in the middle of the rainbow" (*ibid.*, pp. 51 ff.). According to Ephraim the Syrian, who lived in Mesopotamia during the first quarter of the fourth century, the form of the person on the throne is a symbol of Emmanuel, who became a human being, who revealed Himself in His godlike majesty. The throne and the firmament are a symbol of the power of the angels, and the throne is a symbol of thrones, of seraphim and cherubim (*ibid.*, p. 61). Jacob of Sarug, Syrian theologian and poet (451-521) states in his Homilies that the four wheels which bear the Son of God run with great power to the four corners of the earth and the Gospels are borne throughout the entire universe. The four cherubim who bear Him in triumph are the Apostles, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. They have several faces, signifying the different peoples to whom they preach. The hand which appears beneath the wings is the right hand of God, which He gave to the Apostles, a hand which washes all sin from the world (*ibid.*, pp. 80-81). According to St. John

Due chiefly to the close ecclesiastical and doctrinal connections between the religious establishments of Upper Egypt and Syria during the sixth and seventh centuries, the art of Coptic Egypt was at this time less subject to influences from Alexandria and more closely approximated the Asiatic art of Syria and Palestine in style, ornament, and iconography. It is not surprising, then, that the Oriental type of throne and mandorla that we have studied in the Asiatic examples is abundantly illustrated in Coptic frescoes and sculpture. An Ascension at Bawît (chapel XVII)¹ shows a mandorla which forms an almost perfect circle, enclosing a beardless Christ seated on a large, richly ornamented throne with bolster and footstool. The mandorla is not supported by angels, but an angel on either side of the Saviour offers a votive crown of glory as in the Rabula Gospel. The presence of the wings filled with eyes, the Evangelistic symbols, and the whirling wheels shows that the composition was inspired by the vision of Ezekiel. A similar mandorla is employed for the Ezekiel vision in chapel XXVI at Bawît² and for two representations of the *Majestas Domini* at Saqqara.³ The throne on which the Saviour is seated in Coptic art usually has a large bolster and footstool and is richly decorated with jewels, similarly to the thrones in the early mosaics of Rome and Ravenna.⁴ By this device the enthroned figure is invested with a regal dignity.

A typical Eastern mandorla is illustrated in a Bawît fresco (Fig. 15) by an early example of the Madonna type known later in Byzantine art as the *Blacherniotissa*. Within an oval mandorla held by the enthroned Virgin a diminutive figure of Christ is seated, holding the Book of the Gospels and making the gesture of benediction. This iconographic type, which is seen also in the monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara (niche 1723),⁵ on a page of the Etschmiadzin Gospel,⁶ on a fragment of a Monza phial,⁷ and on a seventh-century lead medallion of Constantine II,⁸ appears in Italy during the eighth and ninth centuries.⁹

Chrysostom, whose Commentaries on Ezekiel were composed before the year 436, the highest spirits cannot see God, since the cherubim cover Him with their wings; the cherubim are even higher for they are the throne of God, and the throne of God rests on the cherubim (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, 48, coll. 725 ff.). St. Jerome, like Origen, interprets the vision as a symbol of the power and knowledge of God, a revelation of His foresight and world dominion. The Son rules in the Father, and the Father and Son rule from the same throne. The firmament is of ice, frozen from the clearest water, a symbol of God's purity. The blue sapphire throne above the firmament contains the secrets of God's being, and the rainbow about the throne is a symbol of His mercy and His covenant with man (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 25, coll. 15-32). St. Jerome emphasizes the person of Christ and the Four Evangelists. In this respect he was followed by St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and Sedulius in the *Carmen Paschale*. St. Gregory explains the brightness round about the throne as the light which the Apostles carried into the world. The glowing metal and the appearance of fire is Christ, who is made of the gold of God and the silver of man, and who is surrounded by the fire of persecution. The four wings signify the four parts of the world into which the word of God is carried, and the rainbow round about the vision of God is the power of the Holy Ghost after the Incarnation (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 76, coll. 785-1072).

¹Jean Clédât, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, XII, Cairo, 1904, pls. XL-XLIV.

²*Ibid.*, pls. XC, XCI.

³J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1907-1908), *Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, III, Cairo, 1909, frontispiece; pls. VIII, X (4).

⁴Italian examples are found in the following churches: Rome—S. Prudenziiana (402-417) (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, III, pls. 42-44); S. Maria Maggiore (432-440), throne of Herod (*ibid.*, III, pls. 61, 62, 69), arch (De Rossi, *op. cit.*, pl. IV); SS. Cosmas and Damian, apse (*ibid.*, pl. XV); Ravenna—Orthodox Baptistry (449-458) (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, III, pl. 81); Baptistry of the Arians (c. 520) (*ibid.*, III, pl. 101). S. Prisco—S. Matrona (first half of V century) (*ibid.*, III, pl. 77).

⁵J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1908-9, 1909-10), *The Monastery of Apa Jeremias*, *Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, IV, Cairo, 1912, pl. XXV.

⁶Josef Strzygowski, *Byzantinische Denkmäler, I, Das Etschmiadzin-Evangelium*, Vienna, 1891, pl. VI, 1.

⁷Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 479, 4.

⁸Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, II, 2, fig. 2151, col. 2303. The lead medallion, or seal, decorated with the figures of Constantine II, Pogonatus, Heraclius, and Tiberius, is dated between the years 658 and 668.

⁹In the Italian examples (frescoes) the Virgin is invariably seated, e. g.: Volturmo, church of S. Vincenzo (Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, p. 267); Rome, S. Maria Antiqua, fresco on the right wall, in which the Virgin is accompanied by Sts. Anne and Elizabeth (*ibid.*, fig. 84; Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 194, p. 100), assigned by Grüneisen to the IX century (p. 267), by Wilpert to the VIII; Subiaco, church of Sagro Speco, lower chapel, dated by Grüneisen in the IX century (*op. cit.*, fig. 220, p. 267). In the Bawît example shown in Fig. 15 the mandorla and Child are held slightly to one side, whereas in the other examples mentioned the Child is held directly on the vertical axis.



FIG. 13—GERONA, CHURCH OF SAN FELIU: PAGE FROM THE HOMILIES OF BEDE. SECOND HALF XII CENTURY



FIG. 14—LIMOGES: PAGE FROM THE BIBLE OF ST. MARTIAL OF LIMOGES. ST. JEROME AND POPE DAMASUS

A bracelet amulet in the Fouquet collection at Cairo shows a mandorla of the Ascension which is not oval but pointed at top and bottom.¹ This is unusual, however, since the oval and circular types are prevalent in Coptic art.²

The art of Byzantium drew from all East-Christian sources, and iconographic features were derived from Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, and Alexandria. Two common types of the *Majestas* persisted throughout the entire history of Byzantine art. The distinguishing feature in each case is the seat on which the Saviour is enthroned within the oval or circular mandorla.³ In the first of the two types He is seated on a richly ornamented throne, with bolster and footstool, similar to the throne that we have noted in Coptic Egypt. Illustrations of this type are found in the pages of the Cosmas Indicopleustes, a ninth-century manuscript copied probably in Constantinople after a sixth-century Alexandrian model. In the scene of the Resurrection of the Dead (Book V, *Concordia testamentorum*, fol. 89)⁴ Christ is seated in the firmament on a wide throne, with bolster and footstool, surrounded by a mandorla similar in shape to that in the Rabula Gospel and on the Monza phials. As Judge of the World, Christ holds the Book of the Gospels on His left knee and raises His right hand in benediction. Below appear groups of angels, men, and busts of the dead who are coming to life. This first type of throne is seen again in the vision of Ezekiel in the same manuscript (fol. 74),⁵ where the Saviour is surrounded by a circular mandorla composed of three bands of color, the outer band, fiery red, the intermediate, green, and the inner, sapphire blue. In the vision of Isaiah (fol. 72v) Christ is seated on an elaborate throne without the mandorla.⁶ A similar, but even richer, type of throne appears in the vision of Isaiah on a page from the Sermons of St. Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 510, fol. 67v),⁷ a manuscript written at Constantinople between the years 880 and 886. In this case the throne has a high back as well as a footstool. It is unnecessary, however, to multiply illustrations of this type; they may be found abundantly in Byzantine ivories, mosaics, and manuscripts.⁸

¹Jean Maspero, *Bracelets-amulettes*, in *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, Cairo, 1908, IX, fig. 1, pp. 246 ff.

²Cairo, wooden lintel over the entrance of the church of al-Mu'allaka, dated by Strzygowski in the VIII century (*Röm. Quartalschr.*, XII, 1898, pl. II, pp. 14-22); Deir-es-Suriani, X-century fresco of the Ascension (J. Strzygowski, *Der Schmuck der älteren el-Hadrakirche im syrischen Kloster der sketischen Wüste, Oriens Christ.*, I, pp. 360-361); mutilated fresco of the *Majestas* in the east apse of the White Convent, near Sohag (W. de Bock, *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Égypte chrétienne*, Petrograd, 1901, pl. XXI); mandorla containing a large triumphal cross with a *pallium contabulatum* folded over the arms of the cross, painted by the monk Theodore in the south apse of the same church (*ibid.*, pl. XXII); mutilated fresco of a *Majestas* in the monastery of the Martyrs, near Esneh, sanctuary XIV (*ibid.*, pl. XXX, pp. 76, 77).

³The oval mandorla without the arc was employed also, to surround the standing figure of the Saviour, not only in the Ascension, but also in the scenes of the Transfiguration and the Harrowing of Hell. For examples of its use in the Transfiguration see Gabriel Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIVe, XVe, et XVIe siècles*, Paris, 1916, figs. 181-200; Dalton, *op. cit.*, figs. 225, 410; *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1914, fig. 18. Its use in the Harrowing of Hell is well illustrated by the South Italian Exultet Rolls (Venturi, *op. cit.*, III, figs. 669, 677-680). See also Charles R. Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, New York, 1914, pp. 45 ff., and the list published by Vöge (*Eine deutsche Malerschule*, p. 267, n. 1). Its use in Italy in the X century is shown by a fresco in S. Clemente, Rome (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 229, 2). Cf. also the Chludoff Psalter, fol. 63v (J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter, I, Die Psalterillustration in der Kunstgeschichte*, Helsingfors, 1895, fig. 76).

⁴Cosimo Stornajolo, *Le miniature della topografia cristiana di Cosima Indicopleuste, codice vaticano greco 699, Codices e vaticanis selecti*, X, Milan, 1908, pl. 49, pp. 45-46.

⁵*Ibid.*, pl. 39, p. 41.

⁶*Ibid.*, pl. 37.

⁷H. Omont, *Fac-similés des miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1902, pl. XXV.

⁸*E. g.*, Berlin Museum, ivory book-cover, X century (Wilhelm Vöge, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen, Die Elfenbeinbildwerke*, Berlin, 1900, no. 8, pl. 5); Ravenna Museum, carved ivory panel, XII century (Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, fig. 12); Palermo, La Martorana, mosaic, XII century (*ibid.*, fig. 240); Capua cathedral, enamel reliquary (Venturi, *Storia . . .*, II, fig. 488); Paris Bibl. Nat., miniatures of the Last Judgment in Gr. MS. 74 (H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures Byzantines du XI siècle*, Paris, pls. 41, 81); Salerno cathedral, miniature of Exultet Roll (Venturi, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 671). A typical Italian example of the XIII century is shown in the frescoes of the Last Judgment by Pietro Cavallini in S. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome, c. 1293 (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pls. 279-281). The elaborate throne is also frequently employed without the mandorla.

The type of Byzantine *Majestas* which is even more familiar to students of Western art shows the Saviour seated, not on a throne, as in the preceding examples, but on an arc, or "rainbow arch," as it is often called. An early monument showing this type is an Ascension in the dome of the church of Hagia Sophia at Salonika.¹ The Saviour is seated on an arc which passes slightly below the center of the circular mandorla, and His feet rest on a smaller concentric arc.

This use of an arc as a seat introduces into Eastern iconography a new element, the origin of which is obscure. The rainbow arch does not appear in any of the extant proto-Byzantine monuments from Anatolia, and we have already noted that in the Palestinian and Coptic examples Christ is seated on a throne. Nevertheless, evidence for a Syro-Palestinian origin is furnished by a drawing in the Pozzo collection at Windsor Castle (Fig. 16) copied from a lost encolpium of about the year 600.² In the scene of the Ascension the Saviour is not seated on a throne, as in the extant Monza piala, which we have already studied, but on an arc, as in the Salonika mosaic. The oval mandorla in the drawing is supported by four angels, and the similarity of the general composition to those on the extant ampullæ is striking. The Pozzo drawing shows slight iconographic inconsistencies, such as the omission of the nimbi and the substitution of an Apostle for the usual figure of the Virgin, but in other respects it reproduces the Syro-Palestinian Ascension so faithfully that it is less probable that the copyist substituted the arc for a throne. Additional evidence in favor of a Palestinian origin for the arc is furnished by an Ascension, with the Saviour seated on an arc, painted on the wooden reliquary in the Sancta Sanctorum at Rome.³ The panel is dated as late as the tenth century, but all five scenes represented on it are iconographically derived from early Syro-Palestinian prototypes.

Having observed the various compositions used with the Oriental mandorla, we may investigate their penetration into Western art. The popular Byzantine type of Christ seated on the arc, which is found in Byzantine manuscripts,⁴ mosaics,⁵ and ivories,⁶ appears in Italy as early as the ninth century,⁷ and in the eleventh century it is found not only in Ottonian illumination, which was especially subject to Byzantine

¹Dalton, *op. cit.*, fig. 222.

²E. B. Smith, *A lost Encolpium and some notes on Early Christian Iconography*, in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXIII, 1914, pp. 217-225.

³P. Lauer, *Le trésor du Sancta Sanctorum*, in *Foundation Piot, Monuments et Mémoires*, XV, 1907, pl. XIV, 2, pp. 97-99. It should be noted that the Saviour in the Ascension shown on the ciborium columns in the church of St. Mark's, Venice, appears to be seated on an arc within a small mandorla supported by two angels (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, pl. 498, 2).

⁴Rome, Vatican Library, Gr. MS. no. 1927, fol. 202v, Ascension (Tikkanen, *op. cit.*, fig. 91); Greek Psalter, fol. 63, Ascension (*ibid.*, fig. 81); Paris, Bibl. Nat., Syriac Evangeliary, XII-XIII century, Ascension (*Foundation Piot, Monuments et Mémoires*, XIX, pl. XVIII, pp. 208-209).

⁵Florence, cathedral works, mosaic (G. Millet, *L'art Byzantin*, in Michel's *Histoire de l'art chrétien*, I, fig. 112); Torcello, cathedral, mosaic, XI century, Last Judgment (Dalton, *op. cit.*, fig. 427).

⁶London, Br. Mus., ivory panel, Ezekiel and the dry bones (Dalton, *op. cit.*, fig. 135); Berlin Museum, ivory book-cover, XII century, Ascension (Vöge, *op. cit.*, no. 27, pl. XI); Rome, Barberini collection, ivory panel, Ascension (Graeven, *Elfenbeinwerke, Series II, Aus Sammlungen in Italien*, Göttingen, 1898, pl. 55); Paris, Cluny Museum, ivory plaque, XII century, no. 1051 (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, III, pl. XXVI, fig. 75a); ivory formerly in London Loan Exhibition, Last Judgment (*Nuov. bull. arch. crist.*, VIII, illustration on p. 173; Venturi, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 422); Stuttgart, Kunstammer, ivory plaque, Ascension (Venturi, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 441); Copenhagen, Royal Museum, bone cross, XI century (?) (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, III, pl. XLIV, fig. 124b). For others in ivory see Goldschmidt, vol. III. *passim*. A late example is found in Rome, sacristy of St. Peter's, on an embroidered dalmatic, XIV century (Dalton, *op. cit.*, fig. 380).

⁷Rome, Basilica of S. Clemente, fresco (847-855), Ascension on face of arch (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 210); Rome, Basilica of S. Maria in Domnica, mosaic, *Majestas* (De Rossi, *Mosaici*, pl. XXIII); frontispiece of a manuscript of the Rule of St. Benedict, copied at Capua between 914 and 933 (Bertaux, *op. cit.*, fig. 80); Benevento, cathedral, bronze door (Venturi, III, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 651). A late XII-century example in Italy is illustrated in fresco in the Last Judgment on the walls of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina (1191-1198) (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 256). For a brief discussion of the type in Italy see *ibid.*, II, pp. 1134, n. 1; 1194).



FIG. 15—B^AWIT, CHAPEL XXVIII: COPTIC FRESCO. BLACHERNIOTISSA



FIG. 16—WINDSOR, ROYAL LIBRARY:
DRAWING OF AN ENCOLPIUM



FIG. 17—AUTUN, LIBRARY: GUDOHINUS
GOSPELS, MS. NO. 3, FOL. 12B. VIII
CENTURY



FIG. 18—ROME, VATICAN LIBRARY: PAGE FROM THE BIBLE OF FARFA.
COD. VAT. LAT. 5729. XI CENTURY

influence, but also in England (*cf.* Fig. 26), Northern France, and Catalonia. The influence of Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine iconography in Catalan art is strikingly demonstrated by the Gospel pages of the Bible of Farfa. In the scene of the Ascension shown in Fig. 18 the Saviour is enthroned on the arc within a mandorla borne by two flying angels, while the Virgin, Apostles, and angels appear below. The composition of this scene is almost identical with that which we have found in the Syro-Palestinian examples, such as the Rabula Gospel and the Monza phials. The arc points to Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine models (*cf.* mosaic in Hagia Sophia at Salonica); the agitated movement and lively gesture betray the local inspiration of the Catalan painter.

The close ties which bound Rome to the East from the fifth to the eighth century resulted in a gradual infiltration of Oriental thought and artistic traditions into the Hellenistic West. The secular clergy became more Greek in character, Greek artists and monks were imported into Southern Italy and the Eternal City, and Greek members of the Roman clergy became occupants of the Holy See itself. A good example of the mixture of Hellenistic and Oriental elements in art is furnished by the fifth-century wooden doors of S. Sabina at Rome. In the scene of the Ascension¹ Christ stands as in the Rabula Gospel, accompanied by the symbols of the four Evangelists. The mandorla is not elliptical, like those we have found in Syria and Palestine, but it forms a perfect circle, such as some we have discussed in Coptic and Byzantine art. This feature, the circular mandorla, persists in all the Orientalized Western versions during the seventh and eighth centuries.² The seated *Majestas* type, which is even more common than that in which Christ stands, is illustrated by a page from the Codex Amiatinus, now in the Laurentian Library.³ The enthroned Saviour, accompanied by two angels, is enclosed within a circular mandorla composed of concentric bands of color. Outside are the four Evangelists and their symbols. This manuscript, which was probably written about the year 700 at Jarrow or Wearmouth in England, may have been copied after a model imported from the *scriptorium* of Cassiodorus' abbey in Southern Italy. During the sixth and seventh centuries this monastery, near Squillace, was a center of culture where not only the scriptures and their commentators but also the masterpieces of pagan antiquity were studied and copied.⁴ From such an artistic center as this, which served as a clearing house for the East and West, the earliest copies of the written Word were carried into the the newly evangelized regions of Northern France and the British Isles.

This Orientalized version of the *Majestas* is illustrated in Fig. 17, a page from the Merovingian Gospels of Autun, written by the scribe Gudohinus between 751 and 754. Two angels accompany the Saviour as in the Codex Amiatinus, but the mandorla is much simplified, the Evangelists are omitted, and their symbols are shown in small tangent medallions.⁵ The composition and iconography are modelled after such a manuscript as the Amiatinus, but the drapery and figures reflect the late Latin style whose

¹Venturi, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 322.

²According to Wilpert the oldest example in Rome of the circular mandorla is found on the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore (432-440) (*op. cit.*, I, p. 56; III, pls. 70-72). For a discussion of the firmament of heaven see Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, pp. 231 ff.

³Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, III, pl. 222 b, pp. 262-4.

⁴Thomas Hodgkin, *The Letters of Cassiodorus*, London, 1886, pp. 54-55.

⁵The use of Evangelistic symbols within medallions is found in other monuments of Southern or Central France: *viz.*, ivory book-covers, Milan cathedral (E. B. Smith, *op. cit.*, figs. 155, 156); wooden pulpit of Ste.-Radegonde, VI century (Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, "Agneau," col. 887); Codex Purpureus, Munich (Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. II); Poitiers, Municipal library, MS. no. 174, Gospels from the Abbey of Ste.-Croix, early IX century (Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie, Ivoires*, p. 112); Apocalypse, Valenciennes, Municipal Library, MS. no. 99, (Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. CLVII); Trèves, Municipal Library, MS. no. 23. A similar use of medallions is found later in the school of Tours, where the bust of the four Major Prophets appear in the corners of the page, as shown by the Bamberg Bible (*ibid.*, pl. XXIX).

most familiar example is the illustration of the second Vatican Virgil. This type was employed not only in manuscripts but in stone sculpture as well. On one side of the altar of Pemmone, in the church of S. Martino at Cividale, which Venturi attributes to the eighth century,¹ the Saviour is enthroned within a mandorla supported by four flying angels, similar to those found in Syria and Palestine. The cherubim that stand inside the mandorla on either side of the throne, as the angels in the Codex Amiatinus and in Fig. 17, have outstretched hands, and wings filled with eyes, Eastern features derived from the vision of Ezekiel.

The adoption of new iconographic types during the Carolingian Renaissance did not entirely destroy this Merovingian version common during the seventh and eighth centuries. It continued during the ninth century, and even later in the more conservative regions of Western Europe, as did the Hellenistic globe type. In the Gospels of Lorsch, an Ada manuscript of the first quarter of the ninth century,² the four symbols of the Evangelists are placed within small medallions on the richly ornamented mandorla. The two angels are omitted from within the mandorla. This Ada version seems to have served as a model for later Ottonian artists of the school of Reichenau, inasmuch as it appears in the late-tenth-century Gospels of Darmstadt³ and in the Heidelberg Sacramentary.⁴ In such outlying regions as Northern Spain we find as late as the tenth century a style and iconography that revert to pre-Carolingian models. In the Commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse, a manuscript executed in the school of the Asturias about the year 900, now in Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's library at New York, several pages illustrate this type. In Fig. 19, which depicts the opening of the sixth seal (Rev., 6, 12-17), the star-covered mandorla is supported by two angels, a cherub and a seraph, and two Elders on either side gaze at the beardless Hellenistic Saviour.⁵ In Southern Italy also the type persists late, as shown by an Exultet Roll in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, which is dated in the late tenth or the eleventh century.⁶

Summary of Pre-Carolingian Types. At this point a brief recapitulation of the chief *Majestas* types which appear prior to the ninth century will not be out of place. We have noted two general divisions, or groups, of monuments, the Hellenistic, or Western, and the Oriental. In the Hellenistic the Saviour, as Emmanuel or Logos, is enthroned on the globe of heaven, a type restricted to Italy and regions subject to Italian influence in the Latin West. In the East, on the other hand, the seated or standing Christ, usually appearing in the scene of the Ascension, is surrounded by an oval mandorla supported by two angels and is accompanied by the symbols of the Evangelists, wings filled with eyes, cherubim, seraphim, fiery whirling wheels, and the downward pointing hand. Evolved under the influence of Eastern liturgy and the mystical interpretations of the Ezekiel vision by Origen, Ephraim the Syrian, Jacob of Sahrug, and other patristic writers

¹*Op. cit.*, II, fig. 107, p. 180.

²Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI, B.

³Adolf von Oechelhaeuser, *Die Miniaturen der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Heidelberg*, 1887, pl. 9.

⁴*Ibid.*, pl. I; *The Art Bulletin*, II, fig. 8.

⁵The same type of Enthroned Saviour and mandorla appears on other folios of this manuscript: fol. 83, mandorla is unsupported; fol. 87, mandorla is labelled *tronum* and supported by a cherub and a seraph; fol. 219b, the same; fol. 223, mandorla is elliptical and is flanked on either side by the twenty-four Elders; fol. 231b, it is supported by two angels. The type is found in other Beatus MSS., such as the Gerona MS., fol. 219b (Neuss, *Katalanische Bibelillustration*, fig. 37).

⁶Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester*, London, 1921, II, pl. 3, no. 2. Nothing illustrates better the manner in which the late Latin style continued in Italy than the *retardataire* illustration of this Exultet Roll. The Enthroned Christ and Angels might have been copied directly from the Codex Amiatinus and they furnish an excellent illustration of the identity of the sources from which schools of Northumbria and of Southern Italy drew.

XII



FIG. 19—NEW YORK, MORGAN LIBRARY: PAGE FROM THE COMMENTARY OF BEATUS ON THE APOCALYPSE. OPENING OF THE SIXTH SEAL. C. 900



FIG. 20—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: GOSPEL OF LE MANS, FOL. 18. C. 875-880



FIG. 21—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: FIRST BIBLE OF CHARLES THE BALD (VIVIEN BIBLE), FOL. 329B. MIDDLE IX CENTURY

of the schools of Alexandria and Antioch, this type penetrated Coptic Egypt and Byzantium.

In the art of Byzantium two common formulæ have been noted: one in which Christ is seated on an elaborate throne and another in which He sits on the rainbow arch. The Byzantine rainbow arch may have been derived from some lost Syro-Palestinian prototype, but, whatever its origin, it appears in Italy in the ninth century and was later freely employed by Western artists. We have also found in Rome as early as the fifth century a simplified version of the Oriental type (door of S. Sabina), which during the seventh and eighth centuries was disseminated throughout Western Europe as far north as Northumbria (Codex Amiatinus). This was employed not only in manuscripts but also in relief sculpture. In these Western adaptations of an Oriental model the Saviour is enthroned in a circular instead of an elliptical mandorla, the *Majestas Domini* does not necessarily appear as part of the Ascension, and many mystical elements of the Ezekiel vision, such as the whirling wheels, the wings filled with eyes, and the downward pointing hand are often omitted; attention is focussed upon the enthroned Christ and the four Evangelists.

(C) The Carolingian Globe-Mandorla

The artistic, intellectual, and religious revival fostered during the ninth century under the personal encouragement of Charlemagne and his sons was essentially derivative and composite in character. Late Classical and Western manuscripts from Northumbria and Rome, as well as Eastern manuscripts from Byzantium and Syria, were imported as models to be copied and multiplied by French artists. Eastern and Western elements were freely combined in the new illuminated manuscripts produced in the monastic scriptoria, and one aspect of this mingling of East and West is shown in the treatment of the *Majestas Domini*, wherein the Carolingian artist combines the Latin globe with the Eastern mandorla to form a new iconographic type. This new type of globe-mandorla in its fully developed form is best illustrated in the school of St. Denis. But in order to understand the St. Denis globe-mandorla we must first trace the early stages of its evolution in other Carolingian schools, especially those of Tours and Rheims.

Tours, Type A. In examples from the school of Tours the Saviour is seated on the Hellenistic globe, and in the group which we classify as *type A* He is surrounded by an oval or a pointed mandorla. The enclosing elliptical mandorla does not touch the globe at its base in the Bible of Moutier-Grandval (known as the Alcuin Bible; fol. 352v),¹ in the Gospels of Prüm,² nor in the Gospels of Le Mans (Fig. 20).³ On the other hand, in the Gospels of Lothaire,⁴ of the second quarter of the ninth century, and in the Gospels of Dufay,⁵ a quarter of a century later, the mandorla is pointed at top and bottom and is tangent to the globe. Christ is bearded, in the Eastern fashion, in the Gospels of Lothaire, but all the other examples mentioned show the beardless Hellenistic type. In all these manuscripts Christ is seated on the rim of the globe, as in Early Christian mosaics and frescoes (cf. Fig. 10); in His left hand He holds the Book of the Gospels, which rests on his knee, and with His right hand He either makes the gesture of benediction or holds aloft a small disc or "ball of the world." In most cases the feet of the Saviour rest on the globe

¹Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV.

²*Ibid.*, pl. XXXVI.

³S. Berger, *Histoire du Vulgate*, pp. 402, 252; Beissel, *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1906, pp. 191-2.

⁴Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI.

⁵*Ibid.*, pl. LVI.

as shown in Fig 20, but in the Bible of Moutier-Grandval the earth is suggested by an irregular patch of earth painted on the globe, and in the Gospels of Prüm the artist employs a curving arc, which intersects the base of the globe. In this last example stars appear on the globe and mandorla, and on the background are sun and moon as well as stars. Stars are seen inside the mandorla in Fig. 20, and in both these manuscripts appears the inscription "*Hac sedet arce deus, mundi rex, gloria caeli.*"¹ The Tours artists follow the simplified Western version of the *Majestas* in that Christ is accompanied only by the four symbols of the Evangelists; Eastern features such as the cherubim and seraphim are omitted.

Tours, Type B. In our second division of the Tours examples we find a radical innovation in the shape of the enclosing mandorla. In all the preceding examples the mandorla was either oval or pointed, but in the chief manuscript of the school, the First Bible of Charles the Bald, known as the Vivien Bible (Fig. 21),² the mandorla assumes the outline of a figure 8. This change may have been the result of the artist's desire to produce a more symmetrical and harmonious page, but it is more likely due to the exigencies of space inasmuch as the artist has included the figures of the inspired Evangelists as well as their symbols. In the Bible of Moutier-Grandval the four Major Prophets appear in the corners of the page, but in the Vivien Bible this space is occupied by the seated figures of the Evangelists, and busts of the Prophets are placed at the corners of the enclosing lozenge. The artist could not omit the symbols of the Evangelists, and in order to include them within this enclosing lozenge, as in the Bible of Moutier-Grandval,³ he found it necessary to alter the traditional shape of the mandorla to that of a figure 8. Accordingly, we find a composition which shows the final development of the Northumbrian page as illustrated by the Codex Amiatinus. In other respects, however, the *Majestas Domini* of the Vivien Bible conforms to the traditional Tours type. The Saviour's feet rest on a patch of earth, distinctly shown on the star-covered globe, similar to that of the Bible of Moutier-Grandval; Christ is bearded, as in the Gospels of Lothaire, and the ball or disc held in the blessing right hand is inscribed with the Constantinian monogram.

Rheims. A different phase of this evolution appears earlier in the school of Rheims. In fact, nearly all the transitional stages of the globe-mandorla are seen in the Utrecht Psalter, the most important manuscript of this school and written, like the Ebbo Gospels, during the first third of the ninth century after East Christian models. The Logos appears on nearly every page of this manuscript, but of the many types in which He is conceived the only one important for our discussion is that in which the globe and mandorla are used. On some pages the oval mandorla completely surrounds the globe, as in type A of Tours; on others the mandorla appears to intersect the globe slightly at the base; and on still others the mandorla not only intersects the globe but is placed behind, rather than around, the enthroned figure, as in Psalm LI (Fig. 22). This last feature is even more

¹Beissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-3. A very similar inscription was used in the abbey-church of Gorze, dedicated by Chrodegang of Metz on the 11th of July, 765 A. D. The *titulus*, as given by Aleuin, read:

"Hac sedet arce deus iudex, genitoris imago
Hic seraphim fulgent, domini sub amore calentes
Hoc inter cherubim volitant arcana tonantis
Hic pariter fulgent sapientes quinque puellae
Aeterna in manibus portantes luce lucernas."

This *titulus* undoubtedly labelled a *Majestas Domini* and a representation of the Five Wise Virgins (Schlosser, *Schriftquellen*, no. 900).

²Beissel, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Berger, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-220.

³Earlier examples of the use of the enclosing lozenge in the school of Tours are shown in the Gospel of Saint-Gauzelin, second quarter of the IX century (Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII) and the Bamberg Bible (*ibid.*, pl. XXIX).



FIG. 22—UTRECHT, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY: UTRECHT PSALTER, FOL. 30. PSALM LI. FIRST THIRD
IX CENTURY



FIG. 23—ROME, CONVENT OF ST. PAUL'S
F. L. M.: BIBLE OF ST. PAUL'S F. L. M.,
FOL. 256B. A. 869

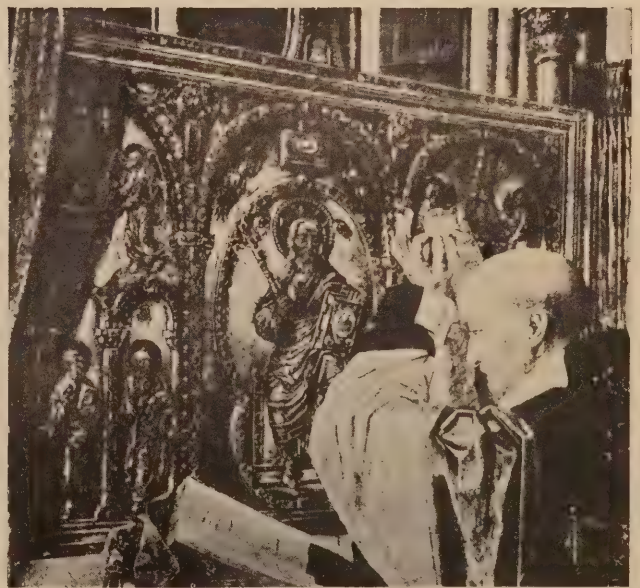


FIG. 24—LONDON, COLL. OF MRS. STUART MACKENZIE:
FRANCO-FLEMISH PAINTING REPRODUCING THE HIGH ALTAR
OF ST. DENIS, SHOWING IX-CENTURY GOLD ANTEPENDIUM

clearly seen in a later Rheims manuscript, the Psalter of Henri le Libéral,¹ dated about the middle of the ninth century. Here the mandorla is relatively smaller than in any of the Utrecht Psalter versions and is flanked by two angels.

St. Denis. The final stage in the evolution of the globe-mandorla was attained in the royal abbey of St. Denis, a school Mr. Albert M. Friend has recently identified with what was formerly known as the "school of Corbie."² The early art of this school, until the death of the abbot Louis in the year 867, was dominated, as Mr. Friend has shown, by the Franco-Saxon style. After that date, however, Charles the Bald himself became secular abbot, and for the next ten years, until his death in 877, the style reflected in manuscripts, goldsmith's work, ivories, and carved crystal gems was predominantly eclectic, combining elements derived from all the great Carolingian schools, Franco-Saxon, Ada, Tours, and Rheims. This eclecticism was undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the library of Charles the Bald, which included manuscripts of the various Carolingian schools, was deposited at the royal abbey, to which one third of the library was eventually bequeathed.³

In the works of this eclectic school we naturally find all three variants of the *Majestas* which have appeared earlier at Tours and Rheims. Type A of Tours, showing the Hellenistic globe and the surrounding mandorla, is found in three of the most important St. Denis manuscripts, *viz.*, the Bible of St. Paul's f. l. m. (before 869) (Fig. 23), the Metz Sacramentary (869),⁴ and the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeran (870).⁵ Each of these manuscripts shows the bearded Saviour, as in the Vivien Bible, and a second page from the Metz Sacramentary shows the beardless type.⁶ As in the Tours examples, Christ is seated on a globe which is tangent to the enclosing pointed or oval mandorla and holds the ball of the world in His right hand; but in the Bible of St. Paul's f. l. m. His feet rest on an Eastern *scabellum*, an innovation not found at Tours.

The iconographic arrangement of the *Majestas* page in the Bible of St. Paul's f. l. m. and in the Gospels of St. Emmeran was obviously copied directly from type B of Tours, such as appears in the Bible of Vivien (Fig. 21). The latter manuscript, which, as we have noted, was the *chef d'oeuvre* of the school of Tours and belonged to the library of Charles the Bald, may have been deposited at the abbey of St. Denis between 867 and 869. The Evangelists, Prophets, and enclosing lozenge in Fig. 23 are arranged as in the page from the Vivien Bible, but it is significant that the St. Denis artist has placed the symbols of the Evangelists outside the lozenge and has not copied the figure 8 mandorla. In the Metz Sacramentary the usual Evangelistic symbols are omitted, and we find, instead, Terra, Oceanus, and angels, common iconographic features of St. Denis, which may possibly reflect the influence of the celestial hierarchy of the Pseudo-Dionysus.

The influence of Tours appears again in the gold antependium of the abbey of St. Denis, a monument which was converted by Suger during the twelfth century into a retable for the high altar. Although the retable perished during the French Revolution, its design is preserved by a Franco-Flemish painting now in London (Fig. 24).⁷ In the central compartment the Saviour is seated within a mandorla, which has the figure 8 outline of the Vivien Bible. But the artist has obviously misunderstood the significance

¹*Ibid.*, pl. LXXVII.

²A. M. Friend, *Carolingian Art in the Abbey of Saint-Denis*, in *Art Studies*, I, pp. 67-75.

³*Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴Boinet, *op. cit.*, pls. CXXXII, CXXXIII.

⁵*Ibid.*, pl. CXVI.

⁶*Ibid.*, pl. CXXXII.

⁷A full page reproduction of this XV-century panel painting, which represents The Mass of S. Giles, has been published by Sir Martin Conway, *Some Treasures of the time of Charles the Bald*, in *Burlington Magazine*, XXVI, 1914-1915, pp. 236 ff.

of the *motif* since he has used an Eastern throne instead of a globe as a seat for Christ. The upper half of the mandorla is much larger than the lower, an indication that the artist may have felt some influence from Rheims.

A good example of Rheims influence upon the school of St. Denis appears in the Noailles ivory book-cover (c. 869), now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.¹ Here the mandorla is much larger than the globe and intersects it as in the Utrecht Psalter (Fig. 22). But the Saviour's feet rest on an Eastern *scabellum*, a feature which may have been derived from an earlier St. Denis ivory now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, an ivory showing not only the Eastern footstool but also an Eastern bolster and other Oriental features.² The presence of Rheims iconography, as well as drapery and figure style, in the school of St. Denis is explained by the close relationship existing between Charles the Bald and Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, who was educated at the abbey of St. Denis.³

The final development of the globe-mandorla appears on the masterpiece of the school of St. Denis, the gold book-cover of the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeran (870), now in the State Library at Munich. In the central compartment (Fig. 25) the beardless Saviour is seated on the globe of heaven, as in the previous Carolingian examples; but the oval mandorla, placed behind the figure, has so diminished in size that the Christ appears to be enthroned at the intersection of the globe and mandorla, the outline of globe and mandorla forming a figure 8. Further innovations which appear on the gold book-cover of St. Emmeran are the use of a small ball of the earth as a footstool, the introduction of an Eastern bolster, and the four stars in the corners.

It is this new iconographic type, appearing in the school of St. Denis in 870, which served as a prototype for all the later variants of the globe-mandorla, with its intersecting circles and ellipses. The abbey of St. Denis was a powerful artistic center not only during the second half of the ninth century, but its influence can be traced during the tenth and eleventh centuries in Northern France, Belgium, Germany, England, Southern France, and Spain. The extent of this influence is clearly demonstrated by the further history of our iconographic type. We shall first examine the diffusion of Tours types A and B, which are also common to St. Denis, and then show the wide expansion of the globe-mandorla type as we have found it perfected on the cover of the Gospels of St. Emmeran.

Diffusion of Tours Type A. We have already noted that type A of Tours, in which the mandorla encloses the globe or is tangent to it, appears in manuscripts of St. Denis in the ninth century. During the tenth and eleventh centuries it is found also on ivories and manuscripts in Germany, Belgium, and England. We have it on the St. Nicaise ivory panel from Liège (c. 900), now at Tournai,⁴ but the Saviour's feet rest on a rectangular footstool or *scabellum*, an Eastern feature, shown on the Noailles book-cover but not appearing at Tours. The same description applies to an eleventh-century Belgian

¹Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, pl. XXVIII, fig. 71a.

²Illustrated by Joseph Breck, *Two Carolingian Ivories*, in *A. J. A.*, 1919, XXIII, pp. 394ff., fig. 1. Mr. Breck suggests the Rhenish provinces as the probable place of origin of the *Majestas* and Virgin and Child ivories in the Metropolitan Museum (p. 397), but Mr. Albert M. Friend has shown that these two ivories are early examples of the school of St. Denis (*Two Ivory Book Covers from St. Denis*, unpublished manuscript; cf. also *Manuscripts, Ivories, and Goldwork in the Abbey of St. Denis under the Patronage of Charles II*, in *A. J. A.*, 1920, XXIV, pp. 81-82).

³A. M. Friend, *Art Studies*, I, p. 73.

⁴Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, I, pl. LXXI, fig. 160a, p. 78.



FIG. 25—MUNICH, STATE LIBRARY: CENTRAL DETAIL FROM GOLD BOOK-COVER OF THE CODEX AUREUS OF ST. EMMERAN. 870



FIG. 26—BOULOGNE, MUNICIPAL LIBRARY: PAGE FROM THE GREAT LATIN GOSPELS. C. 980-990

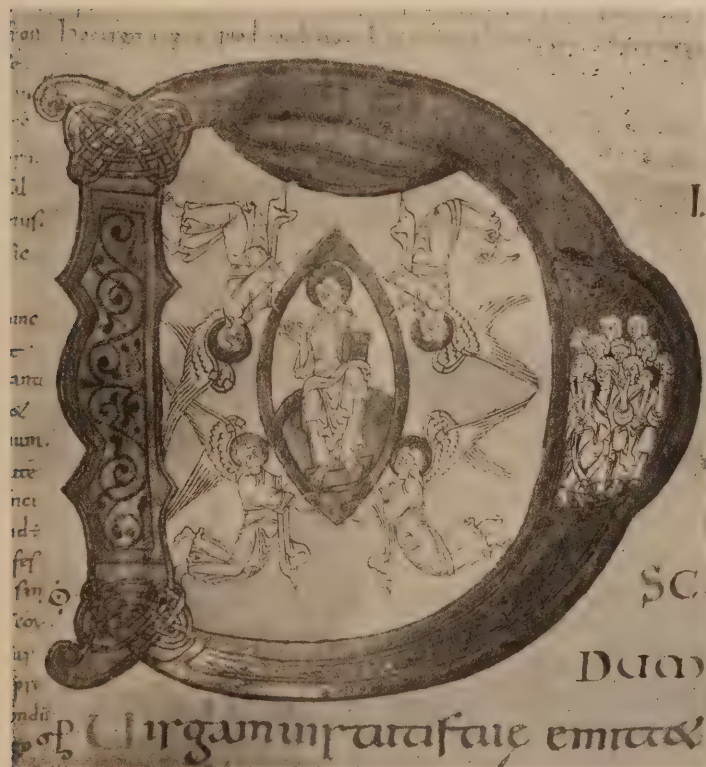


FIG. 27—BOULOGNE, MUNICIPAL LIBRARY: PAGE FROM THE PSALTER OF BOULOGNE, C. 1000



FIG. 28 — LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM: MOZARABIC IVORY PANEL. PROBABLY X CENTURY

ivory in the Cluny Museum.¹ Belgian and Cologne ivories² and manuscripts³ are also found in which the Saviour's feet rest on a small ball of the earth, similar to that seen on the book-cover of St. Emmeran. Inasmuch as the *scabellum* and ball of the earth, used as footstools, are typical of St. Denis and do not appear at Tours, the above examples of the use of the Tours type must derive from St. Denis.

During the tenth and eleventh centuries the abbeys of Northern France, West Belgium, and England were intimately related, and the Tours type, again with St. Denis variations, appears in almost identical form in the schools of St. Bertin, St. Vaast d'Arras, and Winchester. In the Charter of King Edgar of New Minster (966),⁴ the earliest Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the Winchester style, Christ is enthroned not only on a globe, but also on a Byzantine rainbow arch, and is surrounded by a pointed mandorla supported by two angels. This mingling of Eastern or Byzantine features with the Tours type is found not only in early English manuscripts, but also in North French and Belgian works derived from English models. The Great Latin Gospels of Boulogne, an English manuscript of about 980 to 990 (Fig. 26), shows the globe of heaven and the rainbow arch placed within a pointed mandorla, enclosed within a circle, and Christ's feet rest on a globe of the earth, inscribed "TERRA." A strikingly similar representation, showing the close connection between England and Northern France, appears in a North French manuscript from St. Bertin, executed at St. Omer.⁵ The French artist, who was possibly confronted with several models and wished to omit nothing of importance, has misunderstood the significance of the circular footstool and has superimposed a *scabellum* on the globe of the earth.

The ease with which iconographic types were confused and the original significance lost is shown by another page from the Boulogne Gospels.⁶ The Saviour is enthroned on a Byzantine rainbow arch, with His feet resting on a *scabellum*; the circular shape of the globe has entirely disappeared, but a vestige of the original conception is retained in that the space below the arch is painted with solid color. The same arrangement is seen in an Ascension from the Psalter of Boulogne (Fig. 27), a North French manuscript of the school of St. Bertin, written about the year 1000 by abbot Odbert after Winchester or Canterbury models. The pointed mandorla is supported, in the Eastern fashion, by four angels, but, to attain a more pleasing design, the artist has inverted the two upper angels. This inversion is one of the earliest examples in northern Europe of a *motif* which became increasingly popular during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁷ In other English

¹*Ibid.*, II, pl. XV, fig. 48, p. 27. In this example the enclosing mandorla intersects the base slightly as in some pages of the Utrecht Psalter and it is not unlikely that this ivory also reflects influence from Rheims, a school which exerted a strong influence on Cologne during the X and XI centuries.

²Liège, Curtius Museum, ivory panel with Bishop Notker, c. 971-1008, East Belgian (*ibid.*, II, pl. XV, fig. 46, p. 27); Liège, an archaistic school harking back to early models, was possibly influenced by early St. Denis and Rheims. Cologne, Kunstgewerbemuseum, ivory panel with SS. Victor and Gereon, first half XI century, school of Cologne (*ibid.*, II, pl. XV, fig. 47, p. 27): in this ivory the circular globe of the earth is supported on a pedestal, an unusual feature, which does not appear in other examples. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 2.72, ivory panel, c. 1100, Belgian or North French (*ibid.*, II, pl. XLVIII, fig. 170, p. 51): the globe of the earth is pierced like a honey comb and the mandorla intersects the globe of heaven at the base.

³Leipzig, University Library, MS. no. 774, fol. 29 b, Belgian Psalter ascribed by Springer to Soignies im Hennegau (Robert Bruck, *Die Malereien in den Handschriften des Königreichs Sachsen*, Dresden, 1906, fig. 22).

⁴London, Br. Mus., Cotton MS. Vespasian A. VIII, fol. 2b (J. P. Gilson, *Schools of Illumination*, London, 1914, part I, pl. 8).

⁵St. Omer, Municipal Library, MS. no. 56, fol. 35 (c. 1000).

⁶Illustrated in *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 34.

⁷The *motif* of inverted angels may have been suggested to the French artist by the inversion found on Roman mosaics, such as that shown on the ceiling of the chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum in the Lateran (de Rossi, *Mosaics*, pl. XXI). This mosaic, however, differs from the French manuscript in that the four angels are on a ceiling decoration and not on a vertical wall space. An example in the XI (?) century is shown on the ivory cover illustrated in Fig. 41. The best known example in Romanesque art is that found on the sculptured tympanum of the Last Judgment at Autun, a feature which was copied widely during the XII century; in Spanish antependia (Cook, *The Stucco Antependia of Catalonia*, *Art Studies*, II, fig. 44), in Italian sculpture, as on the sculptured candelabrum at Gæta (Venturi, *Storia*, III, fig. 614), and elsewhere.

manuscripts of the first half of the eleventh century the Tours globe and all vestige of its existence, such as solid color, are omitted, and Christ is almost invariably seated on the Byzantine rainbow arch.¹

An indication of the far-reaching influence of the iconography of Tours is its presence in Spain. A version which shows no contact with St. Denis and which must have come to Leon-Castile directly from Tours appears on an ivory panel, probably of the tenth century, now in the British Museum (Fig. 28).² The oval mandorla, decorated with cable pattern, is tangent to the globe, which is likewise decorated with cable pattern, so that it has more the appearance of a ring than of a globe. The beardless Christ, enthroned on the globe, or ring, holds a long cross in His right hand, and outside the mandorla appear the four symbols of the Evangelists (*cf.* Fig. 20). Tours influence, possibly disseminated by St. Denis, is found in two manuscripts of the school of the Asturias, the Codex Vigilanus, dated 976 (Fig. 29), and the Codex Aemilianensis, of the end of the tenth century (Fig. 30), both in the Escorial Library. The most striking Carolingian feature in these two manuscripts is the enclosing lozenge, which we have already noted in the Bible of Moutier-Grandval, the Vivien Bible (Fig. 21), and in such St. Denis manuscripts as the Bible of St. Paul's f. l. m. (Fig. 23). The Spanish artist omits the oval mandorla, one of the most essential features of the *Majestas* type. The enclosing lozenge is construed as a mandorla, a misunderstanding which one might expect in the Peninsula, where the artist was far removed from the original models. French features appear in the bearded type of the Saviour,³ seated on a globe with His feet unsupported by a footstool, the ball of the world held in His blessing right hand, and the starry background which is found in the Gospels of Prüm and Le Mans (*cf.* Fig. 20). The drapery and figure style, however, reverts to earlier Spanish manuscripts, such as the Bible of Leon (960)⁴ and the early Beatus manuscript in Mr. Morgan's library. Instead of the usual symbols of the Evangelists, the corners are filled with archangels, seraphim, and cherubim, a *motif* which may have been copied from St. Denis (Metz Sacramentary) or from earlier Mozarabic models.

Diffusion of Tours Type B. Further evidence of Carolingian influence in Spain, in the form of Tours type B, appears on a page from the Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liebana (dated 975), now in the cathedral of Gerona (Fig. 31). The bearded Christ, holding a ball of the world, labelled "MUNDUS," is surrounded by a figure 8 mandorla and a lozenge. The four symbols of the Evangelists are enclosed within a ribbon which is woven through the lozenge. The Saviour is not seated on the globe, as at Tours and in the Vigilanus and Aemilianensis manuscripts, nor on an Eastern throne,

¹The rainbow arch without any trace of the globe is found in the beginning of the XI century on a page from the Gospels of Christ Church, Canterbury, London, Br. Mus., I D, IX, fol. 70 (Warner, *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts, Series I*, London, 1910, pl. VI). A page from the Register and Martyrology of New Minster, Winchester, written about 1016-1020, Br. Mus., Stowe Ms. 944, fol. 6, shows the Saviour seated on the rainbow arch, but the addition of a second line underneath the arch is plainly a reminiscence of the globe (Warner, *op. cit.*, Series II, pl. VI). Christ and God the Father are both seated on the rainbow arch in the Offices of the Holy Cross and Trinity, written at New Minster, Winchester, about 1012-1020, partly by the monk Aelfwin, Cotton MS. Titus D. XXVII, fol. 75b (Gilson, *op. cit.*, pl. 12, b). *Cf.* also Gospels from New Minster, early XI century, Add. MS. 34890, fol. 115 (*ibid.*, pl. 14), where the Virgin is enthroned on a Byzantine rainbow arch.

²*La Collection Spitzer, I, Les Ivoires*, Paris, 1893, pl. XI; Graeven, *Elfenbeinwerke*, series I, no. 33; *Gaz. B. A.*, XVIII, 1878, p. 275; *ibid.*, XXV, 1882, p. 110; O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era*, London, 1909, no. 77, pp. 61-63. This ivory has been assigned by Dalton to the X or XI century, and classified as Spanish or French. The close resemblance of the figure and drapery style to X-century Mozarabic manuscripts would place this work definitely within the Iberian peninsula or in a region subject to Mozarabic influence. The late Latin style persisted longer in Leon-Castile than elsewhere in Europe and the cable pattern on this ivory is especially typical of this region of Spain. For a full description of this ivory panel see Dalton, *loc. cit.*

³In earlier Mozarabic examples, such as that in the early Morgan Beatus MS., the Christ is invariably beardless, a feature derived from earlier Hellenistic models.

⁴A few pages of this manuscript have been illustrated by Neuss, *Die Katalanische Bibelillustration*, figs. 155, 156, 165, 166.



FIG. 30—Escorial Library: Codex Aemilianensis, Fol. 13. LATE X CENTURY

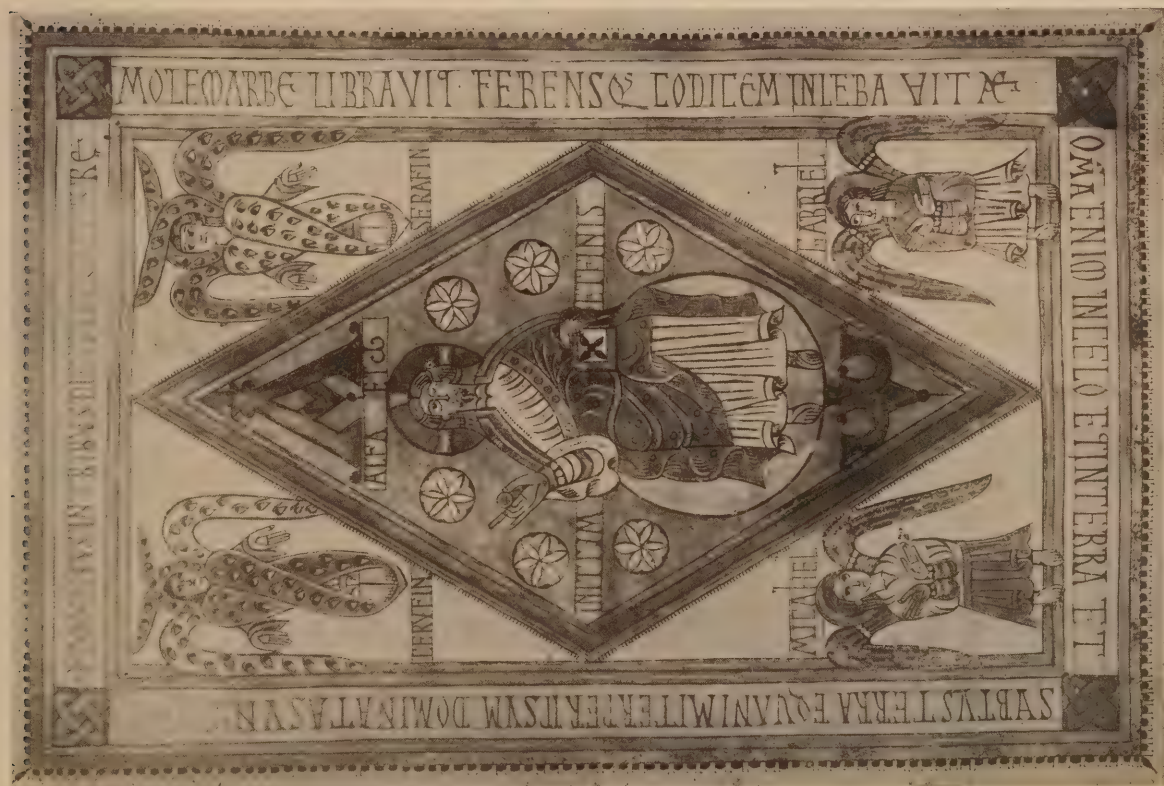


FIG. 29—Escorial Library: Page from the Codex Vigilanus. DATED 976

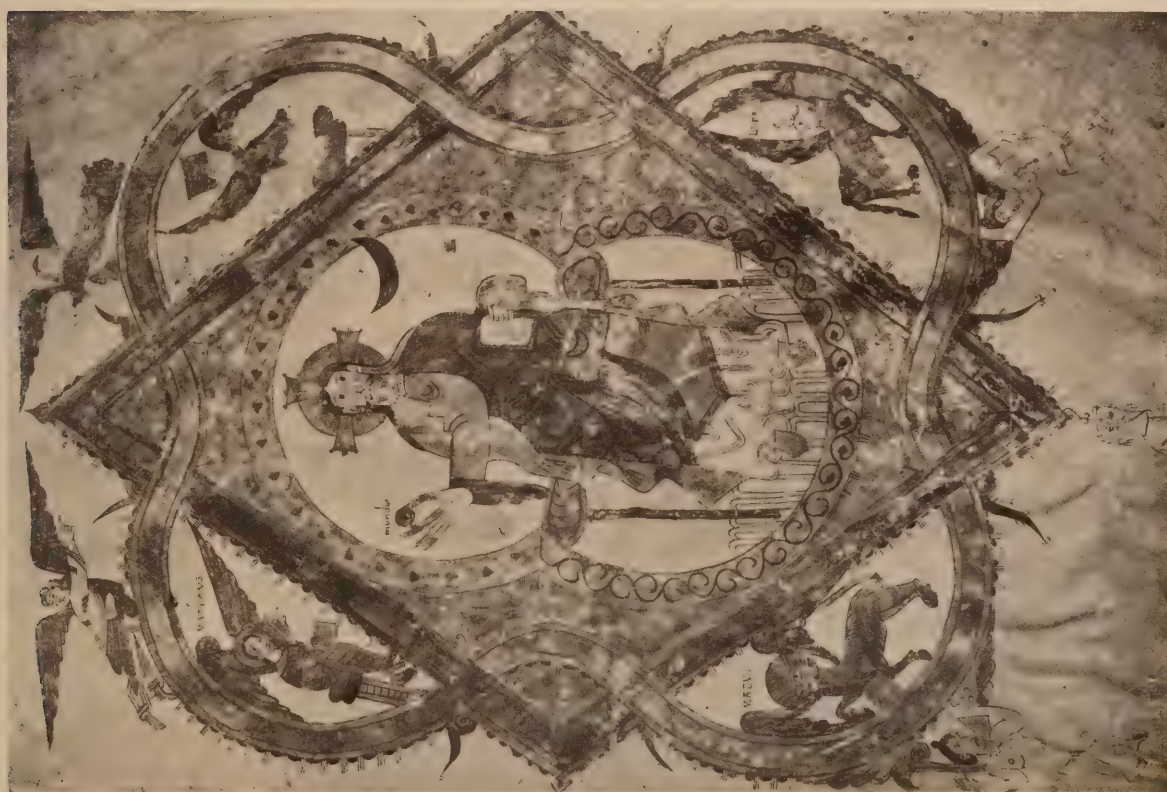


FIG. 31—GERONA, CATHEDRAL: COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE BY BEATUS OF LIEBANA, FOL. 2. DATED 975



FIG. 32—PERPIGNAN, MUNICIPAL LIBRARY: GOSPELS OF PERPIGNAN, FOL. 111b. XII CENTURY

as in the St. Denis gold antependium, but on a cushioned throne peculiar to the Iberian peninsula, a type which became increasingly common in later Spanish art.

Diffusion of the St. Denis Type. Much more powerful and far-reaching in its influence was the fully developed St. Denis globe-mandorla, where Christ is seated at the intersection of a circle and an ellipse, a type best illustrated by the gold book-cover of the St. Emmeran Gospels (Fig. 25). St. Denis was the most important foundation in France in the second half of the ninth century, and during the following centuries this iconographic type was transmitted to those schools which came directly or indirectly under its influence.

Many of the German schools had close contacts with the French monastery. The school of St. Gall, which was one of the earliest to show St. Denis style,¹ offers an early example of the globe-mandorla. In a St. Gall manuscript (Fig. 33) preserved in the Municipal Library at Zurich, dated by Merton in the first half of the tenth century,² the mandorla and globe form two perfect circles; Christ's feet rest on another circle, and the symbols of the Evangelists are enclosed in half medallions. In His left hand the Saviour holds a disc marked with a cross. The St. Denis type appears early in the school of Fulda also. In the Sacramentary of Göttingen, dated by Zimmermann in the third quarter of the tenth century, globe and mandorla are elliptical.³ Here the *Majestas Domini* is included in the Vision of St. Martin, which we have already cited as the earliest preserved example of this typically French subject in Western Europe.⁴ The presence of this legend in the school of Fulda is an indication of connection with Tours. Unmistakable St. Denis influence appears in the Bernward Gospel Book (Fig. 34), probably written by the deacon Guntbald of Hildesheim for St. Bernward between 1014 and 1022.⁵ The enthroned Saviour and two cherubim are enclosed within a circle, and below appear Oceanus and Terra, iconographic features characteristic of St. Denis.⁶ The Saviour's feet rest on a segment of earth covered with growing plants; in His right hand He holds a large disc enclosing the Lamb, and in His left He holds the Book of the Gospels, inscribed "VITA." The presence of French influence in Hildesheim at this period may be explained by the fact that St. Bernward, founder of the abbey of St. Michael of Hildesheim, spent two years at St. Denis and may well have returned to Germany with French manuscripts.

The school of Cologne is especially prolific in variants of the St. Denis prototype. In a Cologne manuscript dated by Ehl in the late tenth century⁷ the globe assumes a trapezoidal outline, and the mandorla, placed behind the figure, forms a perfect circle. The Saviour's feet rest on a *scabellum*, and the Evangelistic symbols are omitted. A much closer approximation to the St. Denis version appears in the Gospels of Gereon,⁸ a manuscript which shows obvious affinities with the Gospels of St. Emmeran and a drapery style derived from Rheims. The artists in Germany, as elsewhere, frequently misunderstood their French models and enclosed the globe-mandorla either in a pointed

¹St. Denis influence is clearly shown on ivories executed in the monastery of St. Gall, such as the Tuotilo ivory, which Goldschmidt dates about the year 900. The four seated Evangelists are copied almost line for line from the Evangelists on the gold book-cover of St. Emmeran (not shown in Fig. 25). The best illustration of the Tuotilo ivory is found in Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, pl. LXXV, fig. 163a, pp. 80-81.

²Adolf Merton, *Die Buchmalerei in St. Gallen vom neunten bis zum elften Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 64.

³Göttingen, University Library, Cod. Theol. 231, fol. 113a, illustrated in *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 2.

⁴*The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, p. 88.

⁵Stephan Beissel, *Des hl. Bernward Evangelienbuch im Dome zu Hildesheim*, Hildesheim, 1891, p. 13.

⁶Cf. Metz Sacramentary (Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. CXXXIII).

⁷Cologne, Municipal Archives, Gospels, MS. 147, fol. 7 (Heinrich Ehl, *Die Ottonische Kölner Buchmalerei*, Bonn, Leipzig, 1922, fig. 10, pp. 37 ff.).

⁸Cologne, Municipal Archives, MS. 312, fol. 12b (*ibid.*, fig. 25, pp. 79 ff.).

mandorla, as in the Gereon Sacramentary¹ and a Cologne manuscript at Giessen,² or in a figure 8 mandorla, as shown in the Hitda Codex at Darmstadt.³ In all these examples the feet of the enthroned figure rest on a *scabellum*, indicative of St. Denis or Rheims influence. The globe-mandorla appears also on Cologne ivories⁴ and goldsmith work. On an eleventh-century gold book-cover of the abbess Theophanu, at Essen,⁵ the mandorla, placed behind the figure, is almost twice the size of the globe. Extreme formality and harmony of proportions appear in later eleventh-century manuscripts of the Cologne school.⁶ Globe and mandorla, equal in size, form perfect circles, with concentric bands of color, and the feet of the enthroned figure rest on a circular globe of the earth. This version represents the last phase of St. Denis influence in the school of Cologne inasmuch as the globe-mandorla disappears entirely with the introduction of Byzantine iconography.

The French version was also common in Belgium. A representative East Belgian example is shown in Fig. 35, a page from an eleventh-century manuscript of Gregory of Nazianzus in Brussels, formerly in the cloister Stablo, diocese of Liège.⁷ The use of perfect circles and the globe of the earth under the Saviour's feet may have penetrated the Meuse valley from Cologne rather than directly from St. Denis.⁸ The West Belgian schools, as would be expected, show an even closer resemblance to the St. Emmeran cover. On a Gospel page from St. Vaast at Arras (eleventh century), now in the Municipal Library at Boulogne⁹, the Saviour sits on a globe-mandorla similar to that found on the Noailles ivory book-cover, with His feet resting on a *scabellum*.¹⁰

The purest English example of the St. Denis type is found in an initial O in the Benedictional of Aethelwold (963-984), of the Winchester school.¹¹ The globe appears to be surrounded by a rainbow arch, but unmistakable St. Denis influence appears in the intersection of the trapezoidal globe and mandorla.

The examples thus far considered have been found chiefly on tenth and eleventh-century manuscripts and ivories. From such models the St. Denis formula was freely copied by twelfth-century artists south of the Loire, not only in manuscripts but also in monumental sculpture and frescoes. In a manuscript from Southern France, which shows the Enthroned Christ surrounded by the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse,¹² the

¹Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat.817, fol. 15b (*ibid.*, fig. 17, pp. 51 ff.).

²Giessen, University Library, MS. 660, fol. I (*ibid.*, fig. 42, pp. 105 ff.).

³Darmstadt, Landesbibliothek, MS. 1640, fol. 7 (*ibid.*, fig. 47, pp. 108 ff.).

⁴Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, ivory book-cover, c. 1000, with Eastern footstool (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, pl. XXIV, fig. 72, pp. 33-34); Paris, Louvre, Molinier no. 27, ivory panel, middle XI century, with globe of the earth as footstool supported by two angels (*ibid.*, II, pl. XXII, fig. 66, p. 32). A North German ivory which was obviously inspired by the school of Cologne is found in Berlin, Königl. Bibliothek, theol. lat. q. 2, middle XI century (*ibid.*, pl. XLI, fig. 144a, p. 44).

⁵*Ibid.*, II, fig. 20. The feet rest on a segment of the globe of the earth and an angel on either side supports the circular mandorla.

⁶Cologne, Priesterseminar, fol. 1b. (Ehl, *op. cit.*, fig. 62, pp. 158 ff.); Bamberg, Municipal Library, A II, 18 (*ibid.*, fig. 69, pp. 171 ff.).

⁷Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, p. 6.

⁸The Meuse Valley was subject to influences from the Carolingian Ada school as well as St. Denis, which would explain the iconography and style of X-XI-century ivory formerly in the Odier collection, now at Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Its globe-mandorla is derived from St. Denis; the figure and drapery style from the Ada school (*ibid.*, I, pl. XIII, fig. 23, p. 17).

⁹Boulogne, Municipal Library, no. 9, fol. 112b (*Friend collection of photographs*).

¹⁰A X-century ivory book-cover which Goldschmidt states is dependent on the Metz school, but which may have been made in north-eastern France, shows obvious influence from St. Denis. The globe-mandorla is similar in outline to that found in the Noailles Gospels (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, I, pl. LII, fig. 119c, p. 59). The St. Denis version is also found on ivories of unknown provenance of the second half of the XI century in the British Museum (*ibid.*, II, pl. XXXVI, fig. 119, p. 41; pl. XXXIX fig. 132, p. 42) and in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (*ibid.*, II, pl. XXXVII, fig. 122, p. 41).

¹¹George F. Warner, *The Benedictional of Saint Aethelwold, Bishop of Winchester* (963-984), Oxford, 1910, fol. 70.

¹²*Gaz. Arch.*, 1887, pl. 20; Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII siècle en France*, fig. 3.



FIG. 33—ZÜRICH, MUNICIPAL LIBRARY: MS. NO. C. 80, PL. 83. FIRST HALF X CENTURY



FIG. 34—HILDESHEIM, CATHEDRAL LIBRARY: GOSPEL BOOK OF ST. BERNWARD, FOL. 174. EARLY XI CENTURY

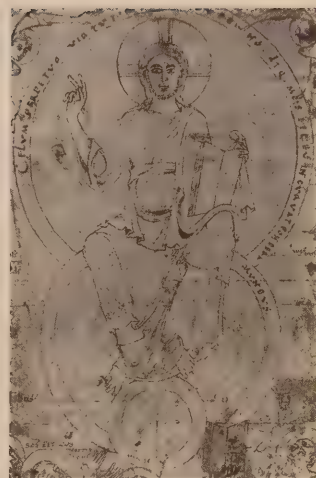


FIG. 35—BRUSSELS, LIBRARY: PAGE FROM MS. OF GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS. XI CENTURY



FIG. 36



FIG. 37

MONTOIRE, CHURCH OF ST.-GILLES: FRESCOES IN CHAPEL OF ST.-GILLES. XII CENTURY

oval mandorla is larger than the globe, approximating the transitional version found in the ninth century at Rheims (Fig. 22) and on the Noailles ivory book-cover. This type is less common in the twelfth century than that in which globe and mandorla are nearly equal in size. The mandorla is no wider than the globe in a fresco in the chapel of St.-Gilles at Montoire (Fig. 37) which shows God the Father, with plain nimbus, seated on the upper rim of the globe, without a cushion.¹ The outer band of the globe and mandorla is covered with stars and surrounded by clouds. An even closer copy of the original St. Denis model is found in an adjacent apse of this chapel at Montoire (Fig. 36). Christ the Son, with a crossed nimbus, is seated on a bolster and His feet rest on a small globe of the earth. This fresco copies almost exactly the central panel on the gold book-cover of St. Emmeran (Fig. 25). This *motif* was not restricted during the twelfth century to the *Majestas Domini*. It was also employed for the Virgin and Child, as shown by the Enthroned Virgin above the cloister arch from the church of St. Aubin at Angers.²

From Central and Southern France the St. Denis type penetrated into Spain. It is found late in Leon-Castile, where Visigothic script and the Mozarabic style continued in use well into the eleventh century. French influence became dominant especially during the last years of the reign of Alfonso VI of Leon (1065-1109), who substituted the Gallican for the old Mozarabic ritual. The consequent importation of French liturgical manuscripts brought in the new iconographic themes, which were freely copied by the native Spanish artist-monks. A Castilian version of the French *Majestas* type is illustrated by a twelfth-century manuscript page now in the Archæological Museum at Madrid.³ The globe-mandorla is similar to that found in the second of the Montoire frescoes mentioned above; the Saviour's feet rest on a patch of earth, indicated by foliate ornament, and the drapery style is based on South French models. The facial type and striped backgrounds are local features peculiar to Spain.

French influence was much more powerful in Catalonia, a province which had maintained close relations with Southern and Central France since the ninth century. Accordingly, French iconographic motives appeared much earlier and were more widespread in the *Marca Hispanica* than in the opposite end of the peninsula. This influence is clearly evident in the Catalan manuscript style. In the Apocalyptic Vision of St. John in the Gospel scenes of the Bible of Roda⁴ Christ is shown with the two-edged swords proceeding from the mouth, the seven stars, the seven candelabra, and the double keys (Rev., 1, 16-17; 4, 4). The Saviour is here enthroned slightly below the rim of the globe of heaven and He lays His right hand on the head of St. John, who stands at His right. Globe and mandorla form perfect circles of equal size. A similar representation of the Saviour and St. John is found on a twelfth-century page of the Gospels from Sant Miquel de Cuixà, better known as the Perpignan Gospels (Fig. 32). Here St. John stands on the opposite side and offers his Gospel to the Saviour, who is seated on a cushion at the intersection of globe and mandorla. In another twelfth-century Catalan manuscript (Ripoll B, fol. 299) (cover design of this magazine) a large bolster is employed and the feet rest on a *scabellum*. On either side is a mitred ecclesiastic, seated under an arch, holding a book in the left hand and pointing with the right toward the enthroned Saviour.

Misunderstandings of the St. Denis Type. The foregoing monuments in Spain and Southern and Central France show a fairly faithful adherence to the original ninth-century

¹Abel Fabre, *L'Iconographie de la Pentecôte*, *Gaz. B. A.*, 1923, 5e période, t. VII, pp. 33 ff.

²Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, pl. 1070.

³Illustrated in *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 36.

⁴Illustrated *ibid.*, fig. 10.

St. Denis prototype. However, examples are frequently found in these regions during the eleventh and twelfth centuries which show that the original significance of the globe of heaven was either misunderstood or completely lost. Such a misunderstanding is found on an ivory cover at Berlin (Fig. 41), tentatively assigned by Goldschmidt to the eleventh century and the school of Echternach,¹ but which may possibly belong to a later school of ivory carvers in Burgundy or Central France. The Saviour does not sit on the upper rim of the globe, but on a wide Eastern throne, with footstool, which the artist has inserted within the circular outline of the globe. A further innovation is shown in that the globe is supported by two angels. The circular mandorla is borne by inverted angels, a *motif* which we have already noted in the Psalter of Boulogne (Fig. 27). A similar misuse of throne and globe occurs in a twelfth-century fresco in the vestibule of the abbey church of St.-Savin (Vienne);² here a frontal Virgin is seated on a large throne, which almost obscures the globe placed behind the figure.

Such misunderstood versions in Southern France were readily imitated by the ivory carvers and goldsmiths of Spain. On a twelfth-century Spanish ivory in the Louvre (Fig. 38) a large Eastern throne is employed in the same manner as in the St.-Savin fresco. On a silver book-cover in the Camera Santa at Oviedo (Fig. 39) Christ is not seated on a bolster, placed at the intersection of globe and mandorla, but on a Dagobert throne. Two lamps, symbolic of the Apocalyptic "lamps of fire," are suspended from the mandorla, and Christ's feet rest on a curiously shaped *scabellum*. The extent to which the original significance of the type could be misunderstood in the twelfth century is shown by a page from a North French or Belgian manuscript (Fig. 42), where the globe-mandorla, surrounded by a wide band of foliate ornament, is placed behind the standing figure of a bishop saint. Such misunderstandings as these may possibly revert to ninth-century Carolingian models, since we have already noted that in the Bible of Vivien (Fig. 21) Christ is seated on a globe, surrounded by a figure 8 mandorla,³ and that a globe-mandorla encloses an Eastern throne on the central panel of the lost antependium of St. Denis (Fig. 24).

The most common misunderstanding of the globe-mandorla, which in this case cannot be traced to the Carolingian period, shows the Saviour seated, not on the upper rim of the globe, but on the lower arc of the mandorla. This confusion may have originated in the manuscript schools of Northern France, where we have already noted a tendency to mix iconographic types. On a page in the Gospels from St. Vaast d'Arras (c. 1000), now in Boulogne,⁴ the Saviour is seated on the lower arc of a pointed mandorla, placed in the center of an arch, and a small globe containing a *scabellum* is placed below His knees.

Whatever the origin of this perverted formula may have been, it was copied so frequently by artists of the tenth and eleventh centuries that it constitutes an almost new iconographic type. One of the earliest preserved examples in sculpture is found on the

¹Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, no. 34, p. 24.

²Reproduced in Gélis-Didot and Laffillée, *op. cit.*, pl. 32. The throne on which the Virgin is seated, which curves outward at the back, is apparently a late survival of a local feature peculiar to this region of Southern France. The same curving back appears on a late Merovingian manuscript of the early IX century from the abbey of Ste.-Croix at Poitiers (Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie, Ivoires*, Paris, 1874, p. 112; Beissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151), where the mandorla behind the *Majestas* produces an effect similar to that shown in the St.-Savin fresco. Greek letters appear on this manuscript and the ultimate source of this feature of curving arms is Eastern. The same type of throne with high back and curving arms is found in Gr. MS. 510 (fol. 67b, Vision of Isaiah), (Omont, *Fac-similés des manuscrits grecs*, pl. XXV).

³On an Old Testament page in the Bible of Roda (fol. 45), Christ is shown standing in a pointed figure 8 mandorla (Neuss, *Katalanische Bibelillustration*, fig. 95).

⁴Boulogne, Municipal Library, MS. no. 9, fol. I (*Friend Photograph*).



FIG. 39—OVEDO, CATHEDRAL, CAMERA SANTA: NIELLO SILVER BOOK-COVER. XII CENTURY



FIG. 38—PARIS, LOUVRE: SPANISH IVORY BOOK-COVER. XII CENTURY

lintel of St.-Genis-des-Fontaines, a Catalan relief dated by an inscription 1020-21 (Fig. 40). The Redeemer is seated on the lower edge of the mandorla, and the globe below has diminished to a mere segment of a circle. This segment, or crescent shaped arc, which is only large enough to contain a footstool, breaks out into foliate ornament at the point of intersection with the mandorla. An angel on either side supports both the arc and the mandorla, whereas in earlier monuments the mandorla alone was supported. This clearly shows that the artist considered the whole *motif*, which approximates a figure 8 in outline, as a mandorla, and that he has lost all conception of the globe of heaven as a seat.

A typical French example is illustrated in Fig. 43, a page from the Bible of St.-Aubin at Angers, not earlier than the end of the eleventh century. The Saviour is enthroned on the lower arc of a broad circular mandorla, which is larger than the globe. Although the artist has confused the iconographic type, the original meaning of the globe has not been lost, as on the St.-Genis lintel. This is again shown on a page of the Catalan Bible of Farfa (Fig. 44), a manuscript which has furnished an example of every type of *Majestas Domini* that we have thus far studied. In this instance the artist has inserted a bolster at the intersection of the double circles. The persistence of the version throughout the Romanesque period is demonstrated by a late-twelfth-century Limoges enamelled casket in the British Museum (Fig. 45)¹ where a frontal Virgin with the Child is seated on the mandorla.

For our purposes this distorted version of the original St. Denis prototype is especially important, since it explains the *motif* shown on the two painted antependia in the Barcelona Museum (Figs. 1, 2). In both panels the Saviour sits on the mandorla and not on the upper rim of the globe. In Fig. 1 the globe-mandorla is elliptical, and in Fig. 2 perfect circles are shown. The Saviour's feet rest on a curving arc of the earth, with growing ferns underneath, and His right hand, in Fig. 2, holds the circular disc or ball of the world. The usual symbols of the Evangelists are omitted, but the rosettes in the corners are an obvious reminiscence of the stars found on the gold book-cover of St. Emmeran. The globe-mandorla, however, is identical with that found in such monuments as the Bible of St.-Aubin, the Bible of Farfa, and the Limoges casket.

(D) The Ball of the World

Before closing our discussion it would be well to call attention to the ball of the world, held in the right hand of Christ in Fig. 2. The presence of this feature on our altar-frontal is further proof of Carolingian tradition in the Romanesque art of Catalonia, since it is first found in the school of Tours, where it assumes the form of a small sphere or disc, held between the thumb and fourth finger.² That this object is to be understood as the ball of the world, a symbol of God's power over the universe, controlled and governed by His hand, is supported by a verse of Alcuin, which describes the right hand of God as "*Dextera quas patris mundum ditione gubernat*."³ This interpretation of the

¹Acquired in 1851 at the sale of the Sharpe collection, Edinburgh, J.-J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Les émaux limousins a fond vermiculé*, *Rev. Arch.*, VI, 1906, reprint, p. 15.

²Cf. Lothaire Gospels (Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI), Gospels of Dufay (*ibid.*, pl. LVI), and the Gospels of Le Mans (fig. 20).

³*Alcuini carm.* 70 (J. von Schlosser, *Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der karolingischen Kunst*, no. 1057, 4, p. 399). The entire sentence reads:

*Dextera quae patris mundum ditione gubernat,
Et natum caelos proprium transverit in altos.*

This verse does not refer specifically to the world as a ball or sphere, held in the hand, and may have been employed to describe merely a blessing hand. In the Gospels of St. Emmeran of Charles the Bald (870) a blessing hand, without the circular object, is surrounded by an inscription almost identical with that quoted above—"dextera haec Patris, mundum ditione gubernans" (Swarzenski, *Regensburger Malerei*, pl. V, fig. 13, p. 71). However, the absence of the circular object does not affect the significance of the inscription.

motif as a ball of the world is further strengthened by the *Majestas* page of the Gerona Beatus (Fig. 31) where the ball is plainly labelled as a world (MUNDUS). Moreover, in the ivory shown in Fig. 41 the object held in the blessing hand is carved as a sphere and not as a disc.¹

The circular object has also been interpreted as the Host or Eucharistic wafer,² introduced during the Carolingian period as a result of the Eucharistic controversy. In 831-833 Radbertus Paschasius, Abbot of Corbie, published a monograph, *De corpore et Sanguine Domini*, an exposition and defence of the theory of transubstantiation.³ The widespread adoption of the conclusions of Radbertus, that the Eucharistic wafer was the palpable symbol of the flesh and blood of Christ, may have influenced the artist-monks of the school of Tours. Such an interpretation of the sphere or disc is strengthened by the fact that in the Bible of Vivien (Fig. 21) it is inscribed with the Constantinian monogram. In the St. Gall manuscript shown in Fig. 33 a cross appears on the disc,⁴ and on the *Majestas* page of the Gospel Book of St. Bernward (Fig. 34) Christ holds in His right hand a large circle which contains the Lamb of God.

It is not at all improbable that both interpretations were current in the ninth and tenth centuries. The presence of the Constantinian monogram, the cross, and the Lamb would strongly favor the theory of the Eucharistic wafer; the Gerona Beatus, on the other hand, shows clearly that the tenth-century Spanish artist conceived the *motif* as a ball of the world. For our purposes it is sufficient to note that this typical Tours feature was freely adopted by Spanish artists. It is found not only in the tenth century, as in the Codex Vigilanus and the Codex Aemilianensis (Figs. 29, 30), but also on a Gospel page in the Farfa Bible (Fig. 12),⁵ on the Catalan standard of Sant Od (1095-1122), from La Seo d'Urgel,⁶ and on our Barcelona panel.

(E) The Globe of the Earth

The arc or segment of the earth-globe, filled with growing leaves, which serves as a footstool in both Barcelona panels (Figs. 1, 2), is another feature which is ultimately derived from Carolingian models. An early example of its use is found about the middle of the ninth century in the school of Tours. In the Gospels of Prüm⁷ the arc intersects the globe of heaven, on which the Saviour is seated, and underneath appear stars, clouds, and a large rosette. The presence of the arc in this manuscript may be explained as a late

¹Goldschmidt (*op. cit.*, II, p. 24) describes the sphere as a "Weltkugel."

²I owe this suggestion to Mr. A. M. Friend. Leprieux proposes the same explanation (Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, I, p. 354).

³Migne, *Patr. lat.*, 120, coll. 1267-1350; Henry O. Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind*, London, 1914, I, pp. 225ff; Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1911, pp. 403-404.

⁴The cross appears also on the circular disc held in the blessing hand of the Saviour on the South French manuscript in the cathedral of Auxerre (*Gaz. arch.*, 1887, pl. 20; Mâle, *op. cit.*, fig. 3). The Virgin holds a large ball in her left hand, inscribed with a cross, on a page from an XI-XII-century manuscript at Cologne, which Beissel terms a "*Reichsapfel*" (St. Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909, fig. 64, p. 158). In later Ottonian manuscripts the Emperor holds a large ball inscribed with the cross, symbolical of his power and dominion over the world. In this case the ball with the cross cannot but be interpreted as the ball of the world.

⁵According to Prof. Wilhelm Neuss the circular object (Weltscheibe) does not signify the wafer but the ball of the world; he quotes an interesting example of its use in the Bible of Roda, where the ball is held in the hand of Noah (Neuss, *Katalanische Bibelillustration*, p. 42).

⁶For a reproduction of this standard see *Anuari*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, VI, frontispiece, pp. 755 ff. Literary notices prove that such standards were employed in the XI century in Catalonia. They were carried before ecclesiastics in church assemblies, were hung behind the altar in parish churches, and were used as a rallying point for citizens in time of war.

⁷Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI.

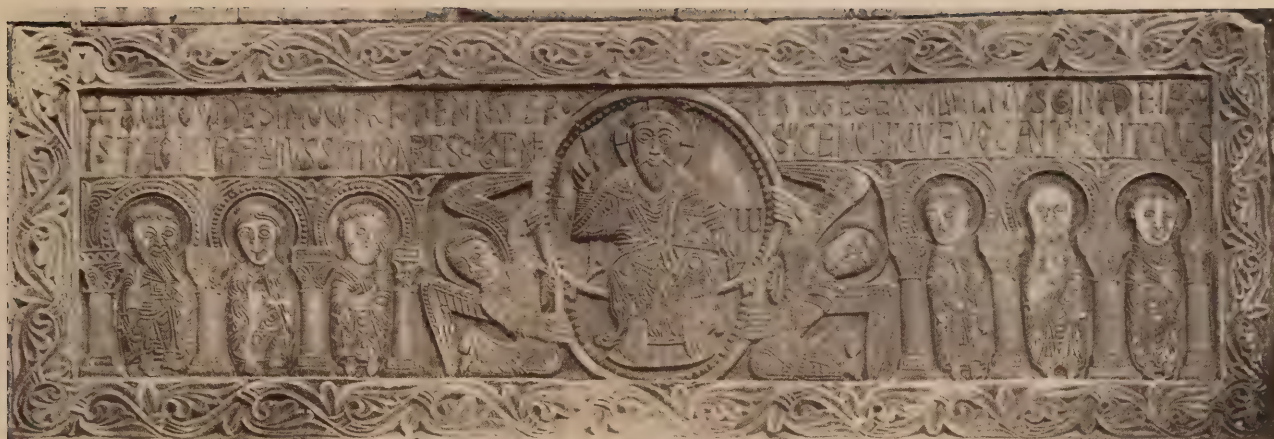


FIG. 40—ST.-GENIS-DES-FONTAINES: LINTEL WITH CATALAN RELIEF. DATED 1020-21



FIG. 41—BERLIN, KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM: IVORY RELIQUARY COVER. XI CENTURY



FIG. 42—NEW YORK, DEMOTTE COLL.: PAGE FROM A NORTH FRENCH OR BELGIAN MS. XII CENTURY

Hellenistic survival or an Eastern importation.¹ In the majority of Tours manuscripts, however, the feet rest on a small patch of earth, painted on the lower part of the globe (cf. Fig. 21),² and in the school of St. Denis a square Eastern *scabellum* is much more popular. The globe of the earth as a complete circle appears on the gold book-cover of St. Emmeran (Fig. 25), and this version, as we have already noted, spread to other schools subject to French influence.³

The arc as a footstool was employed less frequently in the West Frankish regions of Europe than the complete circle. During the twelfth century, however, the arc is common in Catalonia, as shown by the St. Martin panel from Montgrony,⁴ the Gospels of Perpignan,⁵ and a page of the Crucifixion on a Missal in the cathedral of Tortosa.⁶ In the last example, a manuscript which shows many Carolingian features, St. John and the Virgin stand on small earth segments, and the arc also appears at the foot of the cross. The use of growing leaves, which in our panels curl slightly at the tips, is similar to that found in the early-eleventh-century Gospel Book of St. Bernward (Fig. 34), where small sprigs cover the segment of the earth. On a page from a twelfth-century manuscript in the Archæological Museum at Madrid⁷ the arc is not employed, but foliate ornament appears under the feet of the Saviour.

(F) Summary

Our study of the evolution of the globe-mandorla in the Middle Ages has shown that this *motif*, which originated during the ninth century, was derived from pre-Carolingian elements. From the Latin globe type, the Eastern mandorla, and the Orientalized Western version of the seventh and eighth centuries the Carolingian artists of Tours and Rheims invented a new formula for the *Majestas Domini*. Three distinct Carolingian variants appear almost simultaneously, and from these, about the year 870, a new iconographic type evolved in the eclectic school of the royal abbey of St. Denis.

The St. Denis globe-mandorla, in which the Saviour is seated at the intersection of globe and mandorla, was not only imitated in Northern France and Belgium, but spread to England, Germany, Southern and Central France, and Spain. During the tenth and eleventh centuries it was chiefly confined to the West Frankish kingdom. In fact, it is especially significant that this version does not appear in Italy,⁸ in the art of Byzantium, or in the fully developed schools of Ottonian illumination which show a strong Byzantine strain. As the early Latin globe type was restricted to Italy and to regions which came under Italian influence, so the St. Denis globe-mandorla was confined to Capetian France and to those schools which came directly or indirectly under French influence.

¹An arc or segment of a circle is found on Early Christian sarcophagi, as shown by the Junius Bassus sarcophagus, where a *Caelus* holds a semicircular veil above his head as a footstool for the enthroned Christ (De Waal, *Sarcophag des Junius Bassus*, Rome, 1900, frontispiece). The use of a curving arc as a footstool has already been noted in the Byzantine mosaic of the Ascension in the church of Hagia Sophia at Salonika, a feature frequently repeated in later Byzantine versions of the *Majestas Domini*.

²Cf. also Gospels of Lothaire (Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI); Bible of Moutier-Grandval (*ibid.*, pl. XLV).

³The complete circle as a footstool is found in the school of St. Gall (fig. 33), Cologne, Belgium (fig. 35), England and Northern France (fig. 26), in French frescoes of the XII century (fig. 36), and in Catalonia (Theoria Ms., Barcelona, Crown Archives, *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 14). An early and unusual example of the complete circle appears on a IX-century Boulogne manuscript where the circular globe is filled with human heads (Boulogne, Municipal Library, MS. no. 106, fol. 1b.).

⁴*The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. I.

⁵*Ibid.*, fig. 16.

⁶*Ibid.*, fig. 33.

⁷*Ibid.*, fig. 36.

⁸During the XII-century, however, French iconographic types occasionally penetrated into Italy. The Saviour is seated within a figure 8 mandorla, of the Vivien Bible type, on a stone altar-frontal at Bardone (Venturi, *Storia*, III, fig. 116).

The extent and power of French influence in Western Europe from the ninth through the twelfth century is clearly shown by the number of Carolingian globe-mandorla variants found in Spain. Confused and misunderstood versions of the Tours types have been noted in the Mozarabic manuscripts of the second half of the tenth century (Codex Vigilanus, Aemilianensis, Gerona Beatus). The St. Denis version, on the other hand, does not appear in Leon-Castile until the twelfth century, when its use becomes widespread in manuscripts, ivories, and goldsmith's work. It is thus a relatively late importation into the Old Kingdom, whereas it was found at least a century earlier in Catalonia. The frequency with which the St. Denis version was employed, although often in a misunderstood form, on Catalan monuments of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (lintel of St.-Genis-des-Fontaines, Bible of Farfa, Ripoll manuscript, Gospels of Perpignan, Barcelona antependia) is a striking proof of the powerful influence of French iconography on the art of the *Marca Hispanica*.

Yet Spain was not dominated solely by the art of Carolingian France. Italian influence is clearly evident in the use of the Hellenistic globe type (Bible of Farfa, Gerona Homilies of Bede); Eastern influence is shown in the use of the Byzantine rainbow arch (Ascension, Bible of Farfa); and the Orientalized Western version, common elsewhere during the seventh and eighth centuries, appears as late as the year 900 in the school of the Asturias (Morgan Beatus). Thus, nearly every mediæval formula for the *Majestas Domini* is found in the Iberian peninsula. In fact, three of these, the Latin globe, the Byzantine rainbow arch, and the St. Denis globe-mandorla, each derived from a different source, appear simultaneously on the pages of the same Catalan manuscript, the Bible of Farfa.

Our study of these mediæval versions of the *Majestas Domini* therefore serves a two-fold purpose. It not only explains the globe-mandorla in our Barcelona panels (a misunderstood variant of the St. Denis prototype); it also shows the source of other *Majestas* types which appear in the art of Catalonia and Leon-Castile. The frequent use of such a variety of iconographic types demonstrates the eclectic and derivative character of mediæval Spanish painting.



FIG. 43—ANGERS, BIBL. DE LA VILLE: BIBLE OF ST.-AUBIN D'ANGERS, FOLS. 207 AND 208. XI CENTURY



FIG. 44—ROME, VATICAN LIBRARY: PAGE FROM THE BIBLE OF FARFA. COD. VAT. LAT. 5729. XI CENTURY



FIG. 45—LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM: LIMOGES ENAMELLED CASKET. LATE XII CENTURY

The Appreciation of Art

BY ANANDA COOMARASWAMY AND STELLA BLOCH

In any discussion of art it must be clearly understood what we mean by art. It is assumed here that art is the symbolic expression of subjective experience. The symbols may consist of sounds (music and oral literature), written signs, especially lines (drawing and design), colors (painting), or masses (sculpture). Science, on the other hand, is a correlated system of the statement of concepts derived from objective experience. As no complete separation of subjective and objective experience is possible, so there is no absolute distinction of science and art. That the language of both is necessarily symbolic will be self-evident from the fact that we cannot reproduce nature (create life). In so far as any statement is purely descriptive we cannot designate it as either science or art: mere description, whether verbal or visual, is nothing more than a reference of things described to things known, requiring only the power of observation on the part of the recorder, and only the power of recognition on the part of the observer.

Very many well-intentioned persons at the present day are convinced of the desirability of awakening in the mass of the people a greater love of art, an appreciation both of the work of modern artists and of ancient art, and are oppressed by their lack of success, which they sometimes attribute to the materialism of the age. If, on the other hand, we look back to other times and places, we find that the objects which we now describe as works of art possessed a general appeal, that no one had to be taught to like them, and that those who produced them (called by us artists, but by their contemporaries regarded as craftsmen) were normal members of society, who did not starve in garrets, but without difficulty earned a reasonable livelihood. We further observe that the modern concept of art, as implying an activity distinct from that of life, or living, is of very recent origin. What do these contrasts mean?

Before we can go further we must penetrate a little more deeply into the nature of art, which we regard as a quality apparent in the handiwork of man. There are three kinds of art: the first, pure art, which is the symbol of spiritual vision; the second, dynamic art, which springs out of man's passion and emotional experience on earth; the third, apathetic (uninspired) or morbid art, which in cold blood deliberates on forms and shapes and generates conventions or would-be symbols behind which there is no meaning, or, having nothing to say, makes use of already existing symbols only for divertissement.

It is very important to observe that the subject matter of the symbolism is quite indifferent in this classification. Hieratic art is not necessarily pure, erotic art not necessarily impure. Static or formally monumental art may be either pure or morbid. In other words, the intrinsic qualities of art are not amenable to dimensional or ethical analysis: precisely as we cannot distinguish a saint from a sinner by his halo or particular acts. Not merely all men, but all things, are equal in the sight of God, who makes the sun to shine alike upon the just and the unjust: and any point whatever in nature, any theme, that is, may become the determinant of spiritual vision.

The ultimate subject of all pure or revealing art is God; the nature of its symbolism depending upon the way in which God manifests or is seen in modes of time and space, in other words, in terms of national character. Each race and age employs its own idiomatic

language, in which are involved all the associations of its experience and all the qualities inherent in its flesh and blood. Here, the artist is the race, and genius is an aberration. At one time the whole art of the race is inspired, at another its whole art is decadent: there are no bad artists to contradict the former condition, and only men of genius seem to contradict the latter.

The subject of the second kind of art is man's experience on earth. This experience is expressed in an individual language according to the particular associations of the individual artist. All such art, though it may delineate the gods, refers only to man and to mortal experience.

In the third kind of art the subject arises wholly out of personal and accidental associations; being devoid of any urgent predisposition and inherent necessity, this art contains only an interest in externals. It is spoken in a language entirely derived from the individual artist's peculiar tastes and temperament and has therefore nothing in common with humanity. Inasmuch as each artist has his style, and hopes to be original, it is a wilful conventionalization of the artist's experience—the designing of a new symmetry, to which all things he sees will be forced to adhere.

In the modern search for pure art an attempt has been made to create an abstract art, without recognizable themes or forms, and having a symbolism devoid of all associations. Inasmuch as nothing exists disembodied, and there can be no spiritual experience which does not arise in some connection, all such attempts must be known as vain ambitions. Art, indeed, refers to the infinite: but it speaks of the infinite only when nature, the vehicle of the infinite, has been accepted in all reverence as the word by which God reveals himself.

It is a further delusion to suppose that we have already escaped from the subject in art. To some the subject of a work of art is the story it tells; to others it is a moral; to others, a dramatic scheme of light and shade, a color composition. Fifty years ago we heard of such subjects as "The First Violin" and "Deserted." Now we have "Studies in Light," "Blue and Green," or simply "Study." It is all the same, and though we look upon our parents with compassion as sweet innocents, and upon the heathen as idolaters, our tendency, under another disguise, is identical. In other words, subject is inevitable, however sophisticated its form, however limited its appeal. And, accordingly, abstract art is an absurd indirection and a naïve terminology.

In times and places in which works of art (as we now call ancient works of life) were universally appreciated, it is precisely this reverence for the subject matter that we find predominant. A deeper necessity than that of handling the brush created the Italian Madonnas, a deeper need than that of divertissement, the dramatic dances of India and Java.

How, in our age, can there be a general appreciation of and a general demand for art, when there exists no common ground of experience and no common language of expression in any epic or religious theme of universal appeal? Under such conditions the existence of a national art, a modern European art of spiritual vision, is impossible. (Bach is perhaps the only modern artist that has passed beyond genius.) It is true that we have available to us the art of the two second orders—the art of genius and the art of accident. Ought we not to inculcate, may we not hope to awaken in the masses a better understanding of the works of genius? We ought not and we may not. For in this cult of the masterpiece lies an essential and intriguing seduction and snare. We, who are not geniuses, shall imagine that we can follow them, and we follow them to our destruction.

In India the master is regarded as responsible for the sins of his disciples: judged in this way, how shall the European genius be forgiven?

And as for the work of the mass of individual artists, each relating his own experience in his own way, their work may be of importance to themselves, but how can it be of importance to many or all of us? Its character depends so entirely upon the artist's own peculiar sensibilities, it forms so often, indeed, a record of his pathology, that it can play no part in common life. The Philistine people, who buy or admire only such art as they like, and not what they are told is good, are perfectly right: all the best art in the world was produced for people who liked it. You may fool some of the people all the time, or all the people some of the time, but you cannot induce all the people all the time to buy what does not interest them; and when they do buy or pretend to admire a work of art that leaves them unmoved, it is only because the artist has acquired fame, and to the end that they may bask in a reflected glory.

We cannot create a living art by taking thought. Nor can we persuade the people at large to appreciate such art as we offer them: they have too much good sense, and, moreover, are perfectly capable of producing art for themselves when a necessity arises, as witness recent developments in popular music and dancing. In precisely the same way other arts will come into being, as the inevitable consequents of subjective necessity. If we suspect that anything of the sort is happening, we need not therefore pull it up by the roots to see if it is growing. Art, in a practical sense, is nothing but technique, and technique should be taught only to those who have occasion (not merely ambition) to practice a craft. We could do very well without schools of art and without lectures on the appreciation of art.

It will, perhaps, be granted for the sake of argument that modern art cannot be called pure art. Why then should we not teach the appreciation of the pure art of former times and other races, which we protect in our museums?

For our part, we believe that *nothing* should be taught except to those who have already the capacity and—what would otherwise be a mere ambition—with the capacity, the desire, to learn. This would certainly reduce our audiences to microscopic dimensions, and constitute a radical departure from the ideals of universal compulsory educationists. We should at any rate be able to take our audiences more seriously. But should we even then presume to speak to them of the beauty of the works before them and try to make them recognize it, assuming in ourselves a state of grace and the ability to communicate this state of grace to others? We might as well attempt to teach the experience of love. It is idle to try to teach the experience of the infinite: "the Knowledge of Ideal Beauty cannot be acquired."

Ought we not rather to seek to relate the ancient works of art to our life? To a majority the works of ancient art seem to be arbitrary and meaningless inventions, or merely unsuccessful attempts at representation: not sufficiently like things that are lovely in our estimation for us to admire them, and not understood as statements of cosmic theory because their national symbolism is unfamiliar. We have never found that any audience fails to be interested in a foreign or ancient art (*e. g.*, the art of India) when its meaning and close relation to life are explained. In addressing an audience we should avoid entirely all reference to beauty. It is not as works of art, but as means to given ends, that they were produced. If we can show in what manner the ancient works reflect a human experience and serve intelligible purposes, we have made it possible for them to play a part in our own lives and have enlarged the range of our understanding. For our

own part, we find it impossible to take an interest in works of art which have no intelligible meaning and serve no purpose. The idea of an art for art's sake *may* imply the devotion of the artist to his task: if it means a devotion to art regarded as something other than life,¹ the phrase is empty. The essential function of the critic, then, is to explain the necessity of the work he deals with. The archæologist, as critic, fails only in so far as he confines himself to a consideration of the physical qualities of art, to the neglect of its psychic environment: the æsthetician and connoisseur fail in a much deeper way by talking in the air.

What we commonly mean by beauty is really a question of what attracts us in the subject matter or the physical material of the symbolic expression, and in these matters of taste we should make up our minds once and for all that there are no absolute criteria. Unless we are willing to take for granted the tastes and natural predispositions of those whose art we study, we may as well abandon the study.

The artist working under the compulsion of a genuine necessity has never before him the ambition to produce an object which shall be called a beautiful work of art. He works like an engineer, endeavoring to produce an object that shall successfully fulfill its purpose, and if the art be pure, this purpose is never exclusively his own and private purpose: the object is to be a means towards a recognized and generally desired state of mind.

The theory of beauty is a special branch of philosophy. The artist and the layman should be wholly guided by their common needs and tastes.

¹Th. Gautier: "a labor freed from any care save that of beauty in itself."

REVIEWS

CATALOGUE OF THE REBECCA DARLINGTON STODDARD COLLECTION OF GREEK AND ITALIAN VASES IN YALE UNIVERSITY. BY PAUL V. C. BAUR. XI, 311 PP. ILLUSTRATIONS. NEW HAVEN, YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS; LONDON, HUMPHREY MILFORD, 1922. \$10.00.

This collection of vases was carefully assembled by Dr. Paul Arndt of Munich some years ago and bought for Yale University with a fund presented by Mrs. Stoddard, who unfortunately died before she saw its beautiful arrangement in appropriate cases in the President's Reception Room. A preliminary catalogue was published by Professor Baur and now we have the handsome final publication, well printed on good paper. Most fortunate is it to have illustrations in eighteen plates by the hand of Reichhold, the most expert modern draughtsman of scenes on Greek vases. The reproductions in the 118 figures are not always successful. Some are so indistinct that nothing at all of the scene can be recognized. But Professor Baur has done his work in a most scholarly and scientific manner and has produced an ideal catalogue with much original material. It is certainly the best catalogue of a Greek vase collection that has so far appeared in America, and it will hold its own with the European catalogues of vases. As the collection is representative of almost all varieties of Greek and Roman vases and is especially rich in Hellenistic and Roman wares, the reader will get a good idea of the whole history of ancient vases. Professor Baur discusses 675 specimens, including inkwells, banks, lanterns, lamps, under forty-four main divisions, some with several sub-divisions, and gives a detailed and useful index at the end. The divisions are as follows: Prehistoric Egyptian pottery, Prehistoric pottery from Asia Minor, Cypriote pottery, Mycenaean (Late Minoan III) period, Geometric period, Unglazed stamped ware, Rhodian ware, Graeco-Egyptian Faïence ware, Laconian (Cyrenaic) ware, Proto-Corinthian ware, Corinthian ware, Attic black-figured ware, Attic red-figured ware, Attic vases in the form of various objects, Boeotian ware, Moulded ware, Late Greek ware, Early Italian ware, Etruscan *Bucchero* ware, Italo-Ionic and Ionic ware, Early Apulian ware, Apulian red-figured ware, Gnathian ware, Apulian ware with yellow slip, Canosa ware with white slip, Miscellaneous Apulian ware, Early Lucanian ware, Lucanian red-figured ware, Calenian ware, Campanian ware from Teanum Sidicinum, Italian red-figured ware, Late Etruscan relief ware, Italian and Sicilian ware (Hellenistic period), *Asci* and *Gutti*, Black-glazed ware (Greek or Italian under Greek influence), Black-glazed Southern Italian ware, Stamped black-glazed ware, Black-glazed Greek ware (Hellenistic period), Black-glazed Hellenistic ware with applied white paint, *Terra Sigillata*, Roman and Roman provincial ware, Early Christian ware, Lamps.

The Introduction gives the layman a comprehensive idea of the scope and importance of the Stoddard Collection, and is an interesting, scholarly, brief history of Greek and Italian vases as based on the vases at Yale University. Professor Baur is altogether too modest if he thinks that this introduction is for laymen only, for students of art and even specialists will benefit from reading the many important observations there. I cannot agree that "the excavations of the British at Sparta have proved beyond doubt that in Laconia and probably at Sparta itself was manufactured black-figured ware which formerly went under the name of Cyrenaic pottery" (p. 7). It will be difficult to prove

beyond doubt that the famous Arcesilaus cylix with a typical Cyrenaic scene was made in Laconia. Nor do I believe that Hambidge's investigations, important as they are, are "absolutely original." I have seen many of his general ideas in books published even in the first half of the nineteenth century, but it is interesting to have so many of the Yale vases analysed by Hambidgean principles. We should probably, as Buschor has shown, restrict the term "rhyta" (p. 13) to drinking-horns with a hole in the end and speak of other such vases as plastic vases.

In the Catalogue it would be very easy to increase the number of parallels cited, as, for example, for the Rhodian helmeted head (no. 66), the specimen from Corinth which I published in the *American Journal of Archæology*, X, 1906, pp. 421-423, where many parallels are given. But enough parallels are cited by Baur to explain thoroughly any particular type. Much more literature could be cited (p. 56) on Laconian-Cyrenaic ware: *Revue Archéologique*, XX, 1912, pp. 88-105, XXI, 1913, pp. 418 ff.; *Jahreshefte*, IX, 1907, pp. 36-58; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXVIII, 1908, pp. 175 ff.; and Chase, *American Journal of Archæology*, XXV, 1921, pp. 111 ff. (for the vase from Sardis). Concerning such miniature children's oenoches as no. 142 there are many articles, some even connecting these vases with the festival of the Pitchers or with some child's game such as Tom Tiddler's Ground (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLI, 1921, p. 139). For no. 40 one can now refer to Courby, *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, CXXV, 1922, p. 487, an important monograph which appeared too late for Professor Baur to use. The fish plates (nos. 344-346) are probably Campanian and the reader would like to have the species of fish identified. But it is not necessary in a catalogue to have a complete bibliography. In an English book it might be well, however, to refer to the English edition of Buschor.

We close with a wish that America may produce more such good catalogues of our ancient vases, for good catalogues are among the most important scientific publications which an archæologist can produce and are a real test of scholarship.

David M. Robinson

THE USES OF SYMBOLISM IN GREEK ART. BY JANET M. MACDONALD. III, 56 PP. CHICAGO, 1922.

This is an interesting, though not very original dissertation of Bryn Mawr College. Much more has been done in studying symbolism in Greek art than Miss Macdonald knows. She shows no acquaintance with the enormous amount of material in Greek inscriptions and especially in late Greek Asia Minor art, and she does not carry on her subject to Roman times, where the material is more abundant (*cf.* Macchioro, *Il simbolismo nelle figurazioni sepolcrali romane*, *Memorie R. Acc. di Napoli*, 1911). It is in the very nature of the best Greek art to avoid symbolism and every thorough student of art has realized that Greek art is the great example of non-symbolic art. That is the greatness of Greek art. As Miss Macdonald says, "the Greek artistic mind (to a degree known to no other nation) had the power of concrete visualisation and of self-expression in physically real terms capable of direct pictorial representation. The Greek mind thought in terms of what actually was in order to suggest vividly and immediately what actually might be. This is one of the chief reasons why Greek art does not feel exotic nor become antiquated. It constitutes one of its chief claims to be a salutary influence and a great teacher for artists today."

The subject of symbolism is divided logically under the following heads (but the material is treated in a most higgledy-piggledy manner). Chap. I, Introduction. Chap. II, Various Classes of Symbols, Group I: Attributive, Representative, Canting, Commercial, Agonistic, Personification, Concrete Objects; Group II: Personification, Pure abstractions, Allegory, Analogy, Physical terms for spiritual ideas, Cause for effect, Effect for cause; Group III: Apotropaic, Necrological, Astronomical. Chap. III, The Uses of Symbolism—i, Identification: Of deities, of demi-gods and heroes, Of occupations, Of race, Of time, Of place, Of mint, Of monetary value—ii, System of Shorthand: To indicate landscape, To suggest a narrative—iii, Expression of Abstract Ideas and Emotions—iv, Allusion to Historical Events—v, Protection against Evil. Chap. IV, Relation of Symbols to the Medium: Sculpture in the round, Relief sculpture, Vase-painting, Major art of painting, Coins, Gems, Terra cottas, Architecture. Chap V, Comparison of Greek Symbolism with the Symbolism of other Countries—i, Obvious Similarities—ii, Differences—iii, Reasons for Differences.

I have noticed very few bad breaks. The name of the author of *La Peinture Antique* is Girard, not Gerard. The Vatican Demosthenes is not a so-called Demosthenes (p. 19) and it is bad logic to argue from this statue that "in later times a literary man was identified by his scroll" when the scroll is a modern incorrect restoration and in the original statue the hands were clasped (*cf. Art and Archaeology*, I, 1914, pp. 47 ff.).

David M. Robinson

FIGURATIVE TERRA-COTTA REVETMENTS IN ETRURIA AND LATIUM IN THE SIXTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES B. C.
BY E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN. x, 74 pp., 32 pls., double and triple. New York, E. P. Dutton, 1921. \$7.00.

The long residence of Mrs. Van Buren in Italy, due to her attachment to the British School as student and to the American School of Classical Studies by marriage, has given her an opportunity to carry on her archæological work which she has never neglected. Her taste in things artistic, coupled with her love of things Latian and Etruscan, makes her particularly able to treat such a subject as terra-cotta decorations.

Italy has not stopped excavating because of war debts, and every year the finds have increased. The terra-cotta revetments from these finds have been the subject of various articles by Mrs. Van Buren and by other scholars as well. But these articles have appeared in different periodicals. It is therefore particularly advantageous to have the early figurative terra-cotta temple decorations published in one place and given historical setting and scientific description. No student of archæology, especially of Etruscan archæology, can safely neglect a careful perusal of Mrs. Van Buren's book.

The subject matter of the book is grouped into three sections, on antefixæ (it is worthy of note that the author in an article later than her book uses the better word, "antefixes"), akroteria, and friezes, each preceded by a good brief introduction.

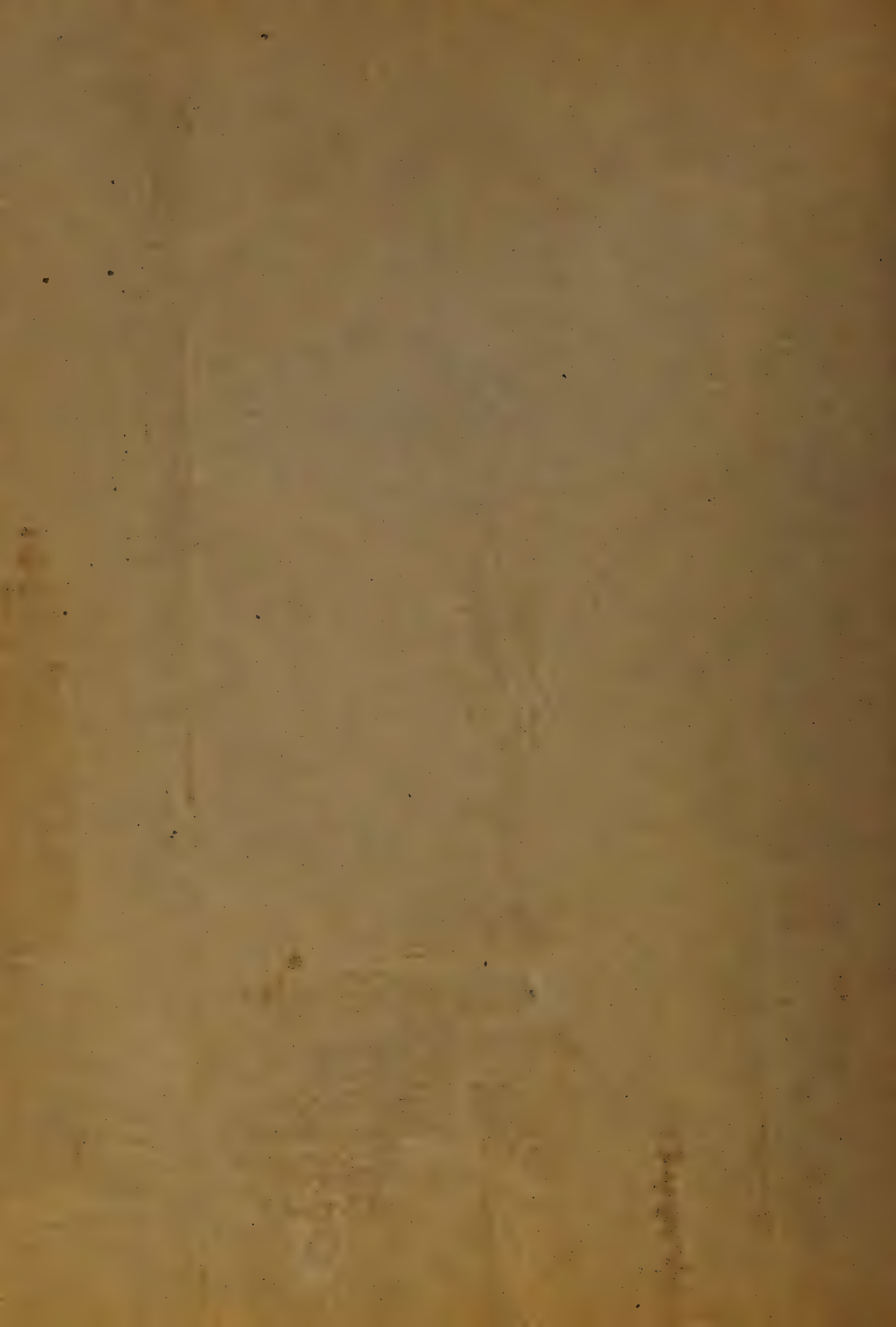
The antefixes, located above the eaves of a temple, portrayed the lower ranks of the hierarchy, such as harpies and satyrs. No divinity was taken as a subject for an antefix in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. A favorite theme was the Gorgon head, with its staring eyes and with tongue hanging from the mouth. There are so many female heads used as antefixes that the entire type has been given the name "Juno Sospita." This is a misnomer.

The types of acroteria are more varied, a natural consequence of their larger size and more individual location. Their arrangement at the angles of the pediments, three at each end of the temple, suggested a more distinct treatment than did that of the antefixes, placed in a long row at the eaves, where similarity was seemingly *au fait*. The design in the friezes was generally a military procession, giving a common subject but a great variety of individual figures.

The molds and kilns for making these terra-cotta revetments have been discovered in many of the excavations, and years ago large numbers of the molds and terra-cottas found their way to the museums of Europe and the United States. Unfortunately, terra-cottas for many years did not get the attention they deserved, and museum publications failed to give illustrations of those they had. The fine plates in the back of Mrs. Van Buren's book make it especially valuable for purposes of comparison.

Professor Robinson, of Johns Hopkins University, in reviewing this book of Mrs. Van Buren's in *Art and Archæology* (XIV, 1922, pp. 110-111), notes a few mistakes, which, as he says, are minor defects, but which, in a work that is an important piece of research, must, of course, be noticed. In this connection should be mentioned Professor Robinson's long article in a late number of the *American Journal of Archæology* (XXVII, 1923, pp. 1-22), entitled *Etruscan-Campanian Antefixes and other Terra-Cottas from Italy at the Johns Hopkins University*, illustrated with twenty-seven figures in the text. This article supplements, and corrects here and there, the work of Mrs. Van Buren, and it should be consulted by students along with the book here reviewed.

R. V. D. Magoffin



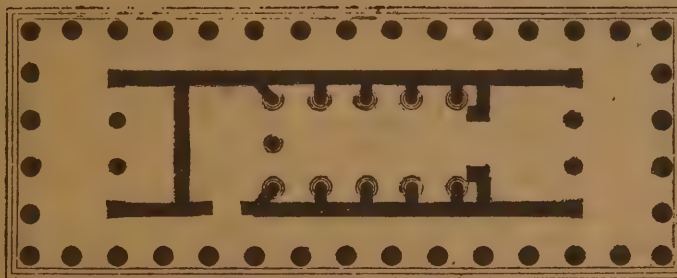
Vol. VI

No. 3

The Art Bulletin

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY THE

College Art Association
Of America



MARCH

NINETEEN HUNDRED TWENTY-FOUR

One dollar a copy

Three dollars a volume

BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE

Entered as second-class matter December 3, 1919, at the Post Office
at Providence, Rhode Island, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

The Art Bulletin

An illustrated quarterly published by the

COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Members of the College Art Association receive The Art Bulletin.

Life membership is open to all; the fee is one hundred dollars.

Sustaining membership is open to all; the annual fee is ten dollars.

Associate membership, or subscription to The Art Bulletin, is open to all; the annual fee is three dollars.

Active membership is open to those engaged in art education; the annual fee is five dollars.

The College Art Association year extends from May to May. All subscriptions to The Art Bulletin begin with the first number of the current volume.

Address all communications to

COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE

The Art Bulletin

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY THE

College Art Association of America

Editor

JOHN SHAPLEY

Editorial Board

DAVID M. ROBINSON, *Chairman*

ALFRED M. BROOKS

JOHN PICKARD

FRANK J. MATHER

ARTHUR K. PORTER

CHARLES R. MOREY

PAUL J. SACHS

CONTENTS

MARCH MCMXXIV

| | Page |
|---|------|
| MODENA, BARI, AND HADES, BY ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS..... | 71 |
| THE ORIGIN OF THE CORINTHIAN CAPITAL, BY H. L. EBELING..... | 75 |
| MEDALLION CARPETS, BY M. S. DIMAND..... | 82 |
| REVIEWS..... | 85 |
| NOTES..... | 93 |



FIG. 1—MODENA, CATHEDRAL: ARCHIVOLT ON THE PORTA DELLA PESCHERIA (*Photo. A. K. Porter*)



FIG. 2—MODENA, CATHEDRAL: CENTRAL DETAIL OF THE ARCHIVOLT ON THE PORTA DELLA PESCHERIA (*Photo. A. K. Porter*)

Modena, Bari, and Hades

BY ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS



IN the Porta della Pescheria of Modena cathedral there is an archivolt (Fig. 1)¹ depicting a scene from Arthurian legend which is the subject of considerable controversy, both as to date and as to the precise subject. We see in the centre a castle with a central tower, on which are suspended a spear and shield (Fig. 2). Within the castle are a man labeled Mardoc and a woman, Winlogée, both apparently in an agitated state. Around the castle is an expanse of water; there seem to be two entrances, and at the head of each stands a barbican. Before the left barbican a great ruffian, Burmaltus, swings his *baculum cornutum*, or *baston cornu*. Against him ride Artus de Bretania, Isdernus, and an unnamed knight. From the right barbican there sallies forth a knight Carrado, and against him ride Galvagus, Galvariun, and Che. It is easy to recognize in Artus, Isdernus, Galvagus, and Che the well-known Arthur, Ider, Gawain, and Kay of the romances. But the identity of the others has never been determined.

Foerster, who first brought this sculpture to the attention of Arthurian scholars in 1898,² and practically all the archæologists have assigned the carving to the early twelfth century.³ But recently two distinguished scholars of the Sorbonne have pronounced for a late date, M. Mâle for about 1160,⁴ and M. Faral for 1180 or even later.⁵ M. Faral has never demonstrated his competence in archæological matters, and since his dating is merely an attempt to square the facts with his erroneous theory of Arthurian origins, it may be dismissed. M. Mâle, although his contributions to archæology have made him deservedly illustrious, seems also to be the victim of bias. At any rate, he has given no reason for his dating except an attempt to show the dependence of the Modena façade sculptures on St. Denis.⁶ If anyone wishes, however, to be convinced of the early date of the Modena sculptures, let him turn to M. Mâle's own article. There he will see that the St. Denis king of 1140 is far more developed in style than the Modena figures.

Furthermore, that these sculptures were done between 1099 and 1106 rests upon very solid grounds. A reliable and almost contemporary document specifically mentions the carving of sculptures between the commencement of the work on Modena cathedral in 1099 and the consecration in 1106.⁷ Professor Porter has shown that the Modena sculptors seem to have studied the throne at San Niccola, Bari, completed in 1098,⁸ and that the hand of Wiligelmus, master sculptor at Modena, is evident at Cremona in work begun in 1107.⁹ To these arguments I may add another. The armor worn by the Arthurian

¹For the photographs reproduced in this article I wish to express my indebtedness to Professor Arthur Kingsley Porter.

²*Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XXII, 243, 526.

³A. K. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, I, 436; G. Bertoni, *Atlante Storico-Artistico del Duomo di Modena*, xviii; Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, III, 160, 164; G. von Vitzthum, *Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters*, 80; M. Wackernagel, *Plastik des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts in Apulien*, 119.

⁴*L'Art religieux au douzième siècle*, 269 n.

⁵Bédier and Hazard, *Histoire illustrée de la littérature française* (1923), 18.

⁶*Gazette des beaux arts*, 1918, 55.

⁷Bertoni, *Atlante Storico-Paleografico del Duomo di Modena*, 88.

⁸*Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, I, 66.

⁹*Lombard Architecture*, II, 386 f.

knights at Modena corresponds very closely to that depicted in the *Bible of Stephen Harding* illuminated at Citeaux in 1109.¹ In both we have the same type of hauberk and the same pennon attached to the lance. There is a difference in the helmets, proving that the Modena sculpture is the earlier. Of the six helmets represented at Modena five are of a pure conical type, giving the outline of an isosceles triangle, whereas only one, that of Che, shows a marked curve in the back. In the Citeaux MS. of 1109 the proportion of helmets with curved outlines is much higher. After 1109 the pure conical helmet, as long in front as in back, goes out of fashion. At any rate, I have yet to discover a single instance of the purely conical helmet after 1109.²

The dating of the Modena sculpture between 1099 and 1106 fits in perfectly with the Bari connection, discovered and fully treated by Professor Porter.³ For San Niccola, begun in 1087, must have been far advanced to accommodate a papal council in 1098. To the evidence of both architectural and sculptural influences proceeding from Bari to Modena let me add a note. The resemblance between the archivolt of the Porta dei Leoni at Bari (Figs. 3 and 4) and that of the Porta della Pescheria at Modena has often been pointed out. In both we see a central stronghold attacked from both sides by galloping knights. It is certain that the Bari subject is not the same as that at Modena, for the water surrounding the castle and the man and woman in it, which we shall see are essential features of the Modena scene, are absent at Bari. Nevertheless, the composition is so similar as to make the theory of influence almost certain. Mr. Porter in his monumental *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* suggested hesitantly that the Bari sculpture was the later and that therefore, contrary to his general theory, Modena in this instance influenced Bari.⁴ I feel convinced, however, that his general theory holds good here also. The priority of the Bari archivolt is established by two features. The knights have no nasals to protect their faces, such as we see on the Modena relief and were generally used throughout the twelfth century. More conclusive is the fact, so far not observed, that the one knight at Bari who has adjusted his lance to the encounter, is not carrying it hugged under his armpit, but is balancing it above his shoulder. Now this latter method is that found on the Bayeux Embroidery of about 1070. M. Levé has shown in connection with that embroidery that there was a change in the manipulation of the lance toward the end of the century; Modena shows the later method.⁵ The inference to be drawn is that the Bari archivolt was studied by Wiligelmus or his assistant and furnished him with a decorative scheme which he used at Modena a few years later.

A more startling confirmation of the link between these two art centres I discovered last December. I noted that the Arthurian names carved on the Modena relief were closer to the Breton than the Welsh forms and it occurred to me that the sculptor might have picked up the story from some Breton embarking from Bari on the First Crusade. It was a case of fishing for a minnow and catching a whale. There was not one Breton Crusader: there were probably a hundred. They did not stay a few days: they spent four months of the winter of 1096-7 at Bari. Alan Fergant, Duke of Brittany, Conan de Lamballe, Alan, steward of Archbishop Baldric of Dol, Ralph de Gael, and Riou de Loheac, besides other Breton lords, formed part of the contingent of Robert Curthose, Duke of

¹P. Clemen, *Romanische Monumentalmalereien in den Rheinlanden*, 164; A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, II, 299.

²I discuss this matter more fully in an article entitled "The Date, Source, and Subject of the Arthurian Sculpture at Modena" contributed to the forthcoming *Medieval Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis*.

³See above, p. 71, note 8; also *Art Studies*, I, 12ff.

⁴I, 63-66.

⁵*Bulletin monumental*, 1913, 130.



FIG. 3—BARI, SAN NICCOLA: DETAIL OF THE ARCHIVOLT ON THE PORTA DEI LEONI (*Photo. A. K. Porter*)



FIG. 4—BARI, SAN NICCOLA: DETAIL OF THE ARCHIVOLT ON THE PORTA DEI LEONI (*Photo. A. K. Porter*)

Normandy.¹ Of Robert, William of Malmesbury said unsympathetically that "pecuniam infinitam mimorum et nebulonum sinibus ingessit," "he poured uncounted riches into the laps of minstrels and good-for-nothings."² Very probably among those into whose laps fell the largess of Duke Robert was the professional story-teller who made such an impression on the imagination of Wiligelmus or his assistant. Unquestionably the Breton minstrels spoke in French both for their own lords and for the group of Normans with whom they were in continual contact. Thus they could have stirred the generosity of Duke Robert and at the same time stimulated the imagination of the sculptor Wiligelmus, whose name suggests by its form that he also was a Norman,³ and who at any rate lived in a town which had been ruled by Normans for sixteen years. During the four months that the Bretons spent at Bari, the sculptors who later were to work at Modena must have had more than one opportunity of listening to long tales of Arthur and his knights.

What was the particular story which Wiligelmus or his assistant found so enthralling that he represented it in stone the first chance he had? Though the sculpture has been known to Arthurian scholars for twenty-six years and though two partially correct interpretations have been given, the central theme, the clue which gives meaning to the whole, has never been suggested. The difficulty has lain in the identification of the two figures in the castle—Winlogée and Mardoc. Though the names occurred in Arthurian romance as Guenloie and Malduc, no one was able to associate these names with any situation corresponding to that on the sculpture. In the last year I began to note several facts which finally led to the solution of the mystery. I found that Ider, who in the romance of *Yder*⁴ is represented as the lover of Guenloie, is elsewhere said to be a lover of Guinevere.⁵ The same romance, while it makes the hero the lover of a queen named Guenloie, actually preserves clear traces of a tender relation between the hero and Queen Guinevere.⁶ I noted, too, that the form Winlogée found its closest parallel in a Breton female name Winlowen or Wenlowen. Now in the *De Ortu Walwanii* Arthur's queen is actually called Gwendoloena.⁷ I became convinced at last that the lady of the Modena portal was Guinevere herself.

Now any Arthurian scholar, seeing Guinevere imprisoned in a fortress surrounded by waters and approached by two entrances, with Arthur and Gawain coming to the rescue, would not need to be told anything more. He would know that we have in this scene an early representation of the abduction of Guinevere by a person who goes under various names, of which the best known are Melwas, Meleagant, or, in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, Mellyagraunce. This legend with a hundred variations runs right through the Gawain and Lancelot cycles, not to mention the independent romances. By consulting these versions of the episode it is possible to reconstruct rather fully the story that was told over the wine in that Apulian port over eight hundred years ago. Indeed it is the first Arthurian romance. Crestien de Troyes's *Erec*, usually accorded that title, was not composed till seventy years later. Even Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, which contains the first extended account of Arthur that has come down in MS., is forty years later in date. The only Arthurian story which can challenge the priority of the abduction of Guinevere as represented at Modena is the Welsh *Kulhwch*

¹C. W. David, *Robert Curthose*, 97.

²*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1890, 208.

³A. K. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, I, 67.

⁴H. Gelzer, *Der altfranzösische Yderroman*.

⁵*Ibid.*, lvi.

⁶*Ibid.*, lvi, lvii.

⁷Edited J. D. Bruce, 85 f.

and *Olwen*. This, curiously enough, contains an allusion to the very Alan Fergant, Duke of Brittany, in whose train we may safely place the teller of the other story. But whether *Kulhwch and Olwen* belongs to the late eleventh or the early twelfth century seems likely to remain uncertain. The tale told at Bari is probably earlier.

In outline this earliest Arthurian romance would run as follows:¹ One first of May Winlogée, the Queen, went out into the meadows to gather flowers. Her only escort was Idern, and he was unarmed. Suddenly out of the woods rode a giant knight, Carrado. He seized the queen, flung her upon his horse, and when Idern attempted to interfere, easily struck him down. Off he rode to a castle among wide marshes, which was accessible only by two perilous bridges. Entering, he gave over the queen to the lord of the castle, an enchanter named Mardoc. Meanwhile Idern had given the alarm to Artus and his knights, and they had started out in pursuit, Idern not waiting to put on a hauberk. Arrived at the edge of the marshes, the knights discovered the two bridges. One was essayed by Artus and Idern, but they were held at the entrance by the gigantic ruffian Burmalt, with his brandished *baston cornu*. The other bridge was undertaken by Galvagin, the greatest of Artus's knights, his brother Galvarium, and Che. Galvagin, attempting to cross, met the huge Carrado. Spurring against each other, they encountered with a crash. Galvagin unhorsed and slew Carrado. He entered the enchanted castle of Mardoc, overcame all difficulties, and rescued Winlogée. Just what happened to Mardoc is hard to say. Some versions let him off easily; others exact the death penalty, and I must give him the benefit of the doubt.

Now there is much more in this legend than at first appears. Mardoc's name is a corruption of Medrot, who in the romances appears as Mordrec or Modred. Under this guise also he abducts Guinevere, but, as all know, according to these versions, Arthur does not win her back but falls by Modred's sword. It is no wonder that he should do so, for Modred is no ordinary being. He is known in Irish legend as Mider, lord of the Underworld, the Celtic Hades. Again, in many forms of Arthurian romance, the abductor of Guinevere is called, as I have mentioned above, Melwas, Meleagant, or Mellyagraunce, all of which forms go back to the Welsh *Mael-vas*, meaning Prince of Death.² The land to which Guinevere is brought is spoken of in more than one version as the land from which no stranger returns. We see, then, that the story told by the Breton minstrel at Bari in 1096-7 and carved at Modena a few years later is a euhemerized version of a myth relating how, like Proserpina, Guinevere was carried off by the lord of Hades, how, like Orpheus, her husband set forth to bring her back, and how, like Hercules in the *Alcestris* legend, Gawain successfully struggled with Death and brought Guinevere back to her husband.

These knights whom we see carved on the Modena archivolt in armor and equipment reproduce the appearance of Bohemund and Tancred and Godfrey de Bouillon, the champions of the First Crusade; in name they are the Arthur, Gawain, and Kay familiar to us in Malory and Tennyson; but in their fundamental significance, they personify the faith that the soul of a great and beautiful woman may, in some fashion, be won back from the land of the shades.

¹This reconstruction is based mainly on *Durmart le Gallois*, 11.4187-4540, and the *Prose Lancelot*, found in the *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, ed. H. O. Sommer, IV, 87-137.

²*Romania*, XXIV, 328. For discussions of the abduction of a queen by a king of the Other World in Celtic literature and the romances see *Romania*, XII, 459 ff.; G. Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, II, 417 ff, 528 ff. The original parts of this paragraph I intend to develop more fully in an article to be published in *Modern Philology*, August, 1924.



1—NEANDRIA, IONIC-AEOLIC CAP., *Durm.* 2—MEGARA-HYBLEA, COR. ANTA-CAP., *Durm.* 3—PHIGALIA, COCKERELL'S RECONSTRUCTION, *Durm.* 4—BOGHAZKOI, RELIEF, *Durm.* 5—PHIGALIA, STACKELBERG'S RECONSTRUCTION, *Durm.* 6—PHIGALIA, SOLE EXTANT FRAGMENT, *Durm.* 7—ATHENS, ACROPOLIS MUSEUM, ARCHAIC CAP., *Durm.* 8—NAUCRATIS, TEMPLE OF APOLLO, *Anderson and Spiers.* 9—THEBES, EGYPTIAN CAP., *Durm.* 10—THEBES, EGYPTIAN CAP., *Durm.* 11—DELPHI, TREASURY OF MASSILIA, *Dinsmoor.*

The Origin of the Corinthian Capital

By H. L. EBELING

The only member of the Corinthian column that differentiates it from the Ionic column is the capital, which may be regarded primarily as a special example among the numerous variations of the volute capital.¹ Ferd. Noack,² emphasizing the continuity of Greek art, regards the Corinthian capital, like the Ionic, as a development out of the old Aeolic capital and illustrates his view by describing how, he thinks, the anta capital from Megara Hyblea (Fig. 2) developed from the Aeolic type (Fig. 1).³ His description of the process of development consists of beautiful imagery.

Frederick Poulsen⁴ refers to Noack and then proceeds to give a rather drastic description of the development as follows: "The earlier palmette-crowned capital of the anta (*i. e.*, earlier than the Phigalian capital) was the point of departure for the actual Corinthian capital, as the fundamental form shows; this takes up the leafage and stalks of the new plant (*i. e.*, acanthus) alongside of palmettes and spirals, and the next process was to remove the leaf-carved capital from the anta and transfer it to the shaft of the Ionic column."

The usual explanation of the origin goes outside the Ionic field, for it is based on the bell-shaped core, which had its prototype in Egypt and is regarded as the most characteristic feature by Durm,⁵ who cites as examples Figs. 9 and 10.⁶ Recently Professor Dinsmoor⁷ has suggested that the basket capitals found at Delphi could be regarded as the direct ancestors of the Corinthian capital (*cf.* Fig. 11). However much the existence of such models may have influenced the inventor of the new type of capital—and some influence is likely enough—they were only auxiliary factors.

M. Meurer⁸ and Th. Homolle,⁹ in their turn, lay the emphasis on the acanthus decoration. The latter demonstrates how the acanthus decorations on funeral stelæ, made first with the natural plant, then with artificial imitations, passed into architectural decoration. Among Homolle's illustrations we find Figs. 12 and 13;¹⁰ among Meurer's illustrations, Figs. 14 and 15.¹¹ The examples that Homolle and Meurer cite illustrate the inclusion of the acanthus in the ancient and widely used decoration, variously composed of palmette and spirals, and throw light on the adaptation of this combination for the adornment of the Phigalian capital. It may be that the included acanthus suggested

¹*Cf.* J. Durm, *Die Baukunst der Griechen*, pp. 297-327.

²*Die Baukunst des Altertums*, pp. 49 ff.

³Noack says (p. 51): "Nach diesem Beispiel ist es nicht mehr schwer die vier ursprünglichen Flächenbilder am korinthischen Kapitell sich durch einen analogen Process aus demselben Urbilde entstanden zu denken."

⁴*Delphi*, 1920, p. 251.

⁵*Op. cit.*, p. 343.

⁶*Op. cit.*, p. 346.

⁷*American Journal of Archaeology*, XXVII, 1923, p. 173.

⁸*Jahrb. des kaiserlichen deutsch. arch. Inst.*, XI, 1896: *Das Akanthusornament und seine natürlichen Vorbilder*.

⁹*Revue Archéologique*, 1916: *L'Origine du Chapiteau Corinthien*.

¹⁰*Op. cit.*, pp. 26, 47.

¹¹*Op. cit.*, pp. 131, 135.

further imitation in shaping the other leaves that adorned this capital; but, as we shall see, it must have been only a modest beginning of acanthus imitation, which became so important at a later date. But Meurer also fancies analogies between the acanthus growth and the acanthus capital (Epidaurus example), and Homolle does the same in greater detail, operating with the Epidaurus example and with Cockerell's reconstruction of the Phigalian capital, which, as we shall see, is not to be trusted. Homolle, further, utilizes the Corinthian story,¹ which tells how an acanthus plant had grown about a basket covered with a tile, suggesting to the ingenious Callimachus the new type of capital. Homolle discusses this story in an instructive way by connecting it with Corinthian bronze work and with Callimachus, who was famous for his metal work and for his invention of the drill, by means of which the delicate carving of marble was made possible. But, as we shall see, the leafage of the Phigalian capital was very different from that of the Epidaurus type and probably did not require a drill, although Cockerell was charmed with the delicacy of its carving. Moreover, it is improbable that Ictinus, the reputed architect of the Apollo temple at Bassae, who exhibited remarkable ingenuity in designing the novelties of the building, should have called in some one else to design the new type of capital for him. Besides, certain characteristics seem to be common to this capital and the novel Ionic capitals which Ictinus designed for this temple. It seems more likely that Callimachus, at a comparatively late date, received the credit of inventing the original Corinthian capital from the part he took in improving the acanthus decoration.

In all these attempts to explain the origin of the Corinthian capital little or no heed has been paid to the Phigalian example, which is generally accepted as the original invention and would therefore be the normal basis of any explanation. Our first need, then, is to obtain as correct a conception of the character of the Phigalian capital as the available sources of our knowledge permit. These sources consist mainly of original sketches and two reconstructions, made by two of the archæologists who had made sketches of the original, which unfortunately was already in a damaged state. These have been discussed by Margarete Gütschow,² who was able to test the accuracy of the drawings in some particulars with the aid of fragments of the capital. The capital itself had disappeared not many years after its discovery in 1811, but fragments were discovered by Kavvadias two decades ago³ and have been published by Rhomaïos.⁴ The sketches were made by O. M. von Stackelberg, Th. Allason, C. R. Cockerell, and Carl Haller von Hallerstein. The work of the last named is admittedly the most accurate but has not been published, and as his drawings are mostly in Strassburg, and some of them in England, Miss Gütschow had to rely on tracings that her teacher, Ferd. Noack, placed at her disposal. These were made only from sketches of details and do not include Haller's picture of the whole capital.⁵

Cockerell had the use of sketches made by Haller when he prepared his magnificent publication, the standard for which had probably been set by Stackelberg's earlier publication, for Cockerell's Plate X shows a neatly arranged interior view of the temple in which the Corinthian capital is seen placed on the drum of a Doric column (Fig. 29) just as Stackelberg's Plate III shows⁶ a neatly arranged interior in which this capital appears

¹Cf. Vitruvius, IV, 1.

²*Jahrb. des deutsch. arch. Inst.*, XXXVI, 1921, pp. 44-60.

³Cf. *C. R. du Congrès d'Athènes*, 1905, pp. 174 ff.

⁴*Arch. Eph.*, 1914, pp. 59 ff.

⁵Cf. Gütschow, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁶According to Gütschow, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

"lying" on the drum of a column. Cockerell's publication did not appear until 1860, many years after he had seen the original. It contains his sketch of the capital and also a reconstruction, in which, as he says, he has made some "adjustments." This reconstruction appears in most of the histories of Greek architecture (Fig. 22).¹ Cockerell's sketch agrees fairly well with Haller's details; but his reconstruction, with its "adjustments," shows several points of dissimilarity.² Stackelberg published his sumptuous work in 1826, fourteen years after he had visited the temple. This also contains a reconstruction; but the author admits that it was "*eine nur nach einem flüchtigen Entwurf versuchte Ergänzung*" (Fig. 31). Neither of these reconstructions can be accepted as authoritative where they differ from the sketches made by Allason and Haller, or from Cockerell's own sketch. Allason's sketch (Fig. 24) was published in 1830 by Donaldson.³ It was made during a brief visit at Bassae. Miss Gütschow⁴ says of it: "*Allason stimmt in den wenigen Hauptformen, die er gibt, mit Haller überein.*" This is not quite so, as he has missed one revolution in the spirals, so that we may question his accuracy in representing below the corners of the abacus only two tall leaves, one overlapping the other. The sketch is valuable, however, in presenting a view from below, which shows the curve of the abacus and the fact that a piece had been broken from the bottom of the capital. Cockerell's sketch (Fig. 23), more authoritative than his reconstruction, affords the best basis of our study; but it must be supplemented and controlled by Haller's sketches of the separate parts (Cockerell himself sketched a few details on a larger scale). One defect in Cockerell's sketch is the straight-looking abacus.⁵ But this appearance cannot have been intentional, for alongside of his reconstruction, in which, also, the abacus shows straight sides, he has placed a cross section with four concave sides (Fig. 25). These curves are clearly shown in Allason's sketch and also in Stackelberg's reconstruction, the correctness of which is established by fragments of the abacus.⁶ Traces of the broken-off volutes are shown in these same fragments, which prove that in Cockerell's sketch they are correctly placed under the corners of the abacus, free from the core of the capital.

The massive abacus, with its concave sides, and the volutes supporting the corners deserve especial notice, as they indicate a relation of the Corinthian capital to the Ionic diagonal capital. This was a device invented to provide a corner capital where two rows of columns with Ionic capitals, meeting at right angles, would clash—a defect of the Ionic order, which was especially felt in Doric surroundings.⁷ However, the diagonal did not satisfy the Greeks. The beauty of the straight Ionic bolster face is diminished by the inward curve of the diagonal, and the volutes thinning out at the corners become less appropriate as supports, and being more or less independent of the bolster do not appear to function properly, as they might if placed between an adequate abacus and an echinus. So far as this is the case in regular Ionic capitals, volutes lend an appearance of elastic

¹Miss Gütschow, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 2, says of it: "*Durm hat diese 'im Vertrauen auf Stackelbergs gute Empfehlung' in sein Handbuch der gr. Arch. 1909 (3), Abb. 331 aufgenommen. Aus diesem ist sie in andere Handbücher übergegangen.*"

²Miss Gütschow, *op. cit.*, p. 54, says: "*Jedoch für die Abänderungen bei seiner Rekonstruktion—die 'adjustments,' die er sich beim Radieren der Platte erlaubte—bieten Hallers Blätter keinen Anhalt, weder für die Form der Eckvoluten und die über ihnen eingeschobenen Blättchen, noch für die 'Lanzenspitzen,' noch für die starke Lappung und Fädelung der Blätter.*"

³Supplement to Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens and Other Places in Greece*.

⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁵Miss Gütschow, *op. cit.*, p. 51, says of it: "*Abacus . . . nicht geschwungen sondern eben und steil.*"

⁶*Cf. Gütschow, op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁷In Springer-Michaelis, 1904, p. 295, it is stated: "*Das 'Diagonalkapitell' tritt im Osten nur vereinzelt auf, öfter im Westen (sog. Grab Therons bei Akragas, in Verbindung mit dorischem Gebäck, regelmässig in Pompeji).*"

strength; but the lack of functional appropriateness of volutes appears even in examples of the regular bolster capital, where they extend beyond the echinus, as in the capital of the old Artemisium at Ephesus.¹

Hence, further experiments seemed desirable, and it is interesting that the Phigalian temple (see the cover design of this magazine), so remarkable for its novelties, shows two. The engaged columns of the open court are crowned with Ionic diagonal capitals, although diagonals were not needed here; but as a diagonal capital suggests the omitted section of an engaged column better than the oblong bolster capital, this fact may have determined Ictinus' choice. Further, they were given the massive appearance of the Doric capital by arching their tops, which, moreover, brought the volutes under pressure, thus doubly increasing the appearance of strength. Unfortunately, only a fragment of one of these capitals is preserved (now in the British Museum (Fig. 6)), and we have to depend, here again, on sketches (Figs. 3 and 5). These are in essential agreement, except that Cockerell has added a conjectural abacus.² They are without the spiral-palmette decoration that is sometimes added.³ Now it is interesting that Ictinus revived an old type of capital, as can be seen in the relief at Boghazkoï (Fig. 4).⁴ However, the Phigalian capitals followed the horizontal bolster type, whereas the Boghazkoï relief shows the principle of the Aeolic type of capital, in which the volutes spring from the shaft, or neck, of the column, where they have their support (Fig. 1). Here was a useful suggestion for his second experiment, when Ictinus undertook to design a capital for a solitary column that was to be placed at the southern end of the open court, at the entrance to the cella, in view of the temple statue. It was to be an ornamental column of marble, and the location demanded an all-round view. We have the result before us: a bell-shaped core, surmounted by a massive abacus with four concave sides, under the corners of which, according to indications, there were pairs of volutes, the stems of which are visible on the core, which is ornamented with huge spirals and leaves, some of them merely painted.

In an attempt to trace the steps by which Ictinus developed the design of this new type of capital we shall begin by expressing the conviction that he desired to keep it in harmony with his diagonal capitals. This obvious supposition relegates the structurally important core to second place in the development of his design. Durm⁵ regards the bell-shaped body as the most striking characteristic of the Corinthian capital, and so it is when compared with the Doric and Ionic capitals, and yet when we regard the Corinthian capital, we are impressed by abacus, volutes, spirals, and, especially, leaves, behind which the core is hardly noticeable. The fully developed capital is often spoken of as the "acanthus capital." We may assume then that some form of diagonal capital, with four front views, would be Ictinus' first thought. He had already experimented with the diagonal type and shown his desire to give an appearance of strength by increasing the height of this capital and by making the volutes suggest greater carrying power. This purpose is again conspicuous in his choice of an abacus, possibly under Doric influence, that was much more prominent than the Ionic abacus, and with the volutes under the corners. That these members were influenced by the diagonal type is shown by the concave sides of the abacus and the pairs of volutes joined from contiguous sides. We may

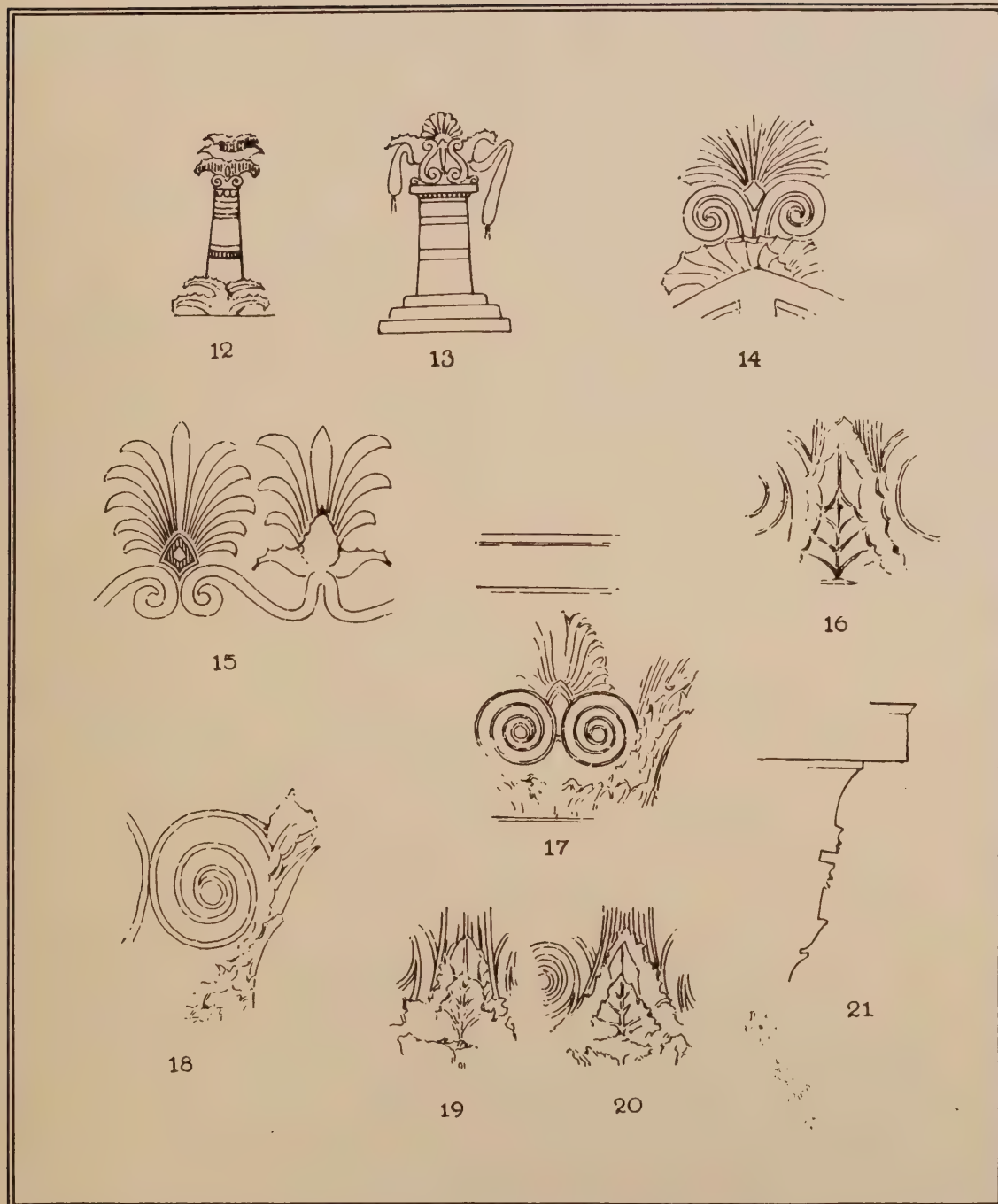
¹Cf. Durm, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

²Cf. *ibid.*, p. 301.

³Cf. Springer-Michaelis, 1904, p. 116.

⁴Durm, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

⁵*Op. cit.*, p. 343.



12—MUNICH, VASE PAINTING, *Homolle*. 13—LOUVRE, VASE PAINTING, *Homolle*. 14—CONSTANTINOPLE, ACROTERION ON A SARCOPHAGUS, *Meurer*. 15—OLYMPIA, PAINTED SIMA, *Meurer*. 16, 17, 18—PHIGALIA, HALLER'S DETAILS OF COR. CAP., *Gütschow*. 19, 20—PHIGALIA, COCKERELL'S DETAILS OF COR. CAP. *Gütschow*. 21—PHIGALIA, HALLER'S PROFILE OF COR. CAP., *Gütschow*.

imagine Ictinus making a sketch in which the upper section of the diagonal was replaced by an abacus that preserved the curves of the diagonal, and in spreading this enlarged abacus above the lower section it projected over the volutes, reduced in size. Having thus practically eliminated the bolster, he had to devise a substitute and secure support for his volutes. At this juncture his familiarity with the Aeolic type of capital showed him that volutes could be made to spring from a leaf-encircled neck. But for the shape and limits of the core of his capital he had to seek elsewhere for models. We may well believe that the existing bell-shaped capitals of Egypt and Delphi occurred to him (Figs. 9, 10, and 11). At the same time it seems worth while to consider whether Ionic capitals could have pointed the way to the adoption of a suitable form, bearing in mind the tendency to increase their appearance of height by adding ornamental necks.¹ Indeed a bell-shaped capital might have been suggested by examples like the Naucratis capital (Fig. 8) and the one in the Acropolis Museum at Athens (Fig. 7), not to speak of illustrations that Durm cites under the head of Doric capitals.²

At any rate, having adopted the bell-shape for his capital, Ictinus again showed his desire to keep his capital in harmony with the volute style of capital by adopting the above mentioned spiral-acanthus-palmette decoration, in which the huge spirals, with their convolutions, remind one of the volute faces of his diagonal capitals. They look like contiguous diagonal volutes spread flat. This composite decoration, from its fixed pattern and the arrangement which brings the spirals into relation with the volutes, must have been sketched in first, and that on four sides, and so determined the choice of the leafage that was to fill the spaces left vacant. Was there then enough space under the spirals for two distinct circles of leaves? Cockerell's reconstruction shows two (Fig. 22); the sketches of Allason, Haller, and Cockerell himself show only one.³ No doubt Haller himself encouraged Cockerell in the belief that there were two girdles of leaves, for his profile sketch (Fig. 21)⁴ adds a section below the line that limits the capital as he saw it, suggesting a second girdle of leaves. Both were probably influenced by the later Corinthian capital, and, as Allason's sketch shows, the lower part of the capital was fractured, so that they had some ground for their conjecture. However, if there had existed a second girdle, it is incredible that this should have entirely disappeared by an even horizontal fracture. In Allason's sketch the fracture appears irregular; hence a fragment of a second girdle of leaves, if it had existed, would have been visible. Accordingly, we may feel assured that the Phigalian capital had only one girdle of leaves. The character of the leaves is not clear.⁵ Stackelberg states positively that they were not acanthus. That an examination of Haller's sketches in England and those that have been added to the collection in Strassburg from Athens⁶ may reveal some resemblance to the acanthus is possible; but the leaves of the girdle were so crowded that they must have presented a very different appearance from the clearly defined acanthus that was adopted later. The form that Cockerell pictured in his reconstruction is merely conjectural and not in agreement with his own and Haller's sketches, which moreover show that the leaves of the Phigalian capital

¹Cf. the Ionic capital at Locri, Durm, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

²*Op. cit.*, p. 255.

³Miss Gütschow, *op. cit.*, p. 55, discusses this question and concludes: "In keinem Fall aber lässt sich aus den Handzeichnungen, ebensowenig wie aus Stackelbergs und Allasons Wiedergaben ein zweiter unterer Kranz beweisen."

⁴Cf. *ibid.*, pl. opposite page 52, no. 2.

⁵Miss Gütschow, *op. cit.*, p. 55, says: "Was die Blätter anbetrifft, so zeigen Hallers Skizzen sie mit so zerstörten Umrisen, dass man von ihren Einzelformen wenig genug erkennen kann, und daher ist es schwer zu entscheiden welcher Art sie waren—Akanthus oder 'Wasserlaub?'"

⁶Cf. *ibid.*, p. 55.

were not imitations of the leaves of the Egyptian nor of the Aeolic capitals. A nearer parallel may be seen in the Doric capital at Paestum.¹

The spaces under the volute corners called for taller leaves. But instead of imitating the Egyptian capital (Fig. 10), on which broad leaves narrow up to the rim of the bell, where they curl into small volutes, Ictinus let broad-based leaves rise only to the top level of the spirals, so that they should not be called "*Stützblätter der Eckvoluten*,"² which term applies to these leaves as developed in the later capitals (cf. Figs. 16-20). They partly cover the stems of the spirals and volutes, with which they have no pronounced organic connection; nor was there a leaflet between volute and abacus. There seem to be three of these leaves, one overlapping the other (Figs. 16-20; cf. Egyptian capital above, Fig. 9). Miss Gütschow would more readily have recognized the third leaf if she had thought of the final application of paint adding the leaf details to the spear point which puzzled her, especially in Cockerell's sketch (Figs. 19 and 20).³ This crowding of leaves again shows that there was no direct imitation of the natural acanthus plant. If there was any resemblance, it must have been of a conventional character as shown on the cornice of the north door of the Erechtheum.⁴ Besides all this leafage there were painted above the spirals on either side of the palmette tall narrow leaves that resemble those of the iris. Both Stackelberg and Haller include them in their drawings and mention them in their notes. Haller remarks "*peint encaustique*" and represents them as in Fig. 30. The projecting points at the side of the slender leaves indicate a shorter leaf clinging to a taller one, as can be frequently seen in the growing iris. As the other leaves could not readily be made to cover these spaces, we can understand the choice of the tall iris-like leaves, which were painted so as to appear in the background. All these details give to the Phigalian capital an unorganic, experimental appearance,⁵ which strengthens our belief that this capital (Fig. 28) initiated the Corinthian order. But the Greeks recognized the defects of its decoration, and a century later we see emerge the beautiful capital from Epidaurus (Fig. 27). Here, instead of the composite decoration, consisting of huge spirals, acanthus, and palmette, we have small graceful spirals and an unobtrusive rosette; and instead of a profusion of various kinds of leaves, we have only acanthus leaves of unmistakable character, which are artistically arranged without crowding. Even if a further examination of Haller's sketches should prove that the acanthus had been represented more or less clearly on the Phigalian capital, it will remain evident that another creative genius, possibly Callimachus, was needed to reveal by skillful carving the still latent beauties of the acanthus plant. When this had come to be recognized it must have created a stir among Greek architects. The one who designed the Lysicrates monument seems to have been carried away with enthusiasm for this means of decoration (Fig. 26). In contrast with the intricate profusion of leaves exhibited here, the Epidaurus capital displays a beautiful and practical simplicity, which was again the creation of a genius, who, in avoiding the extravagance exhibited in the Lysicrates monument, established the

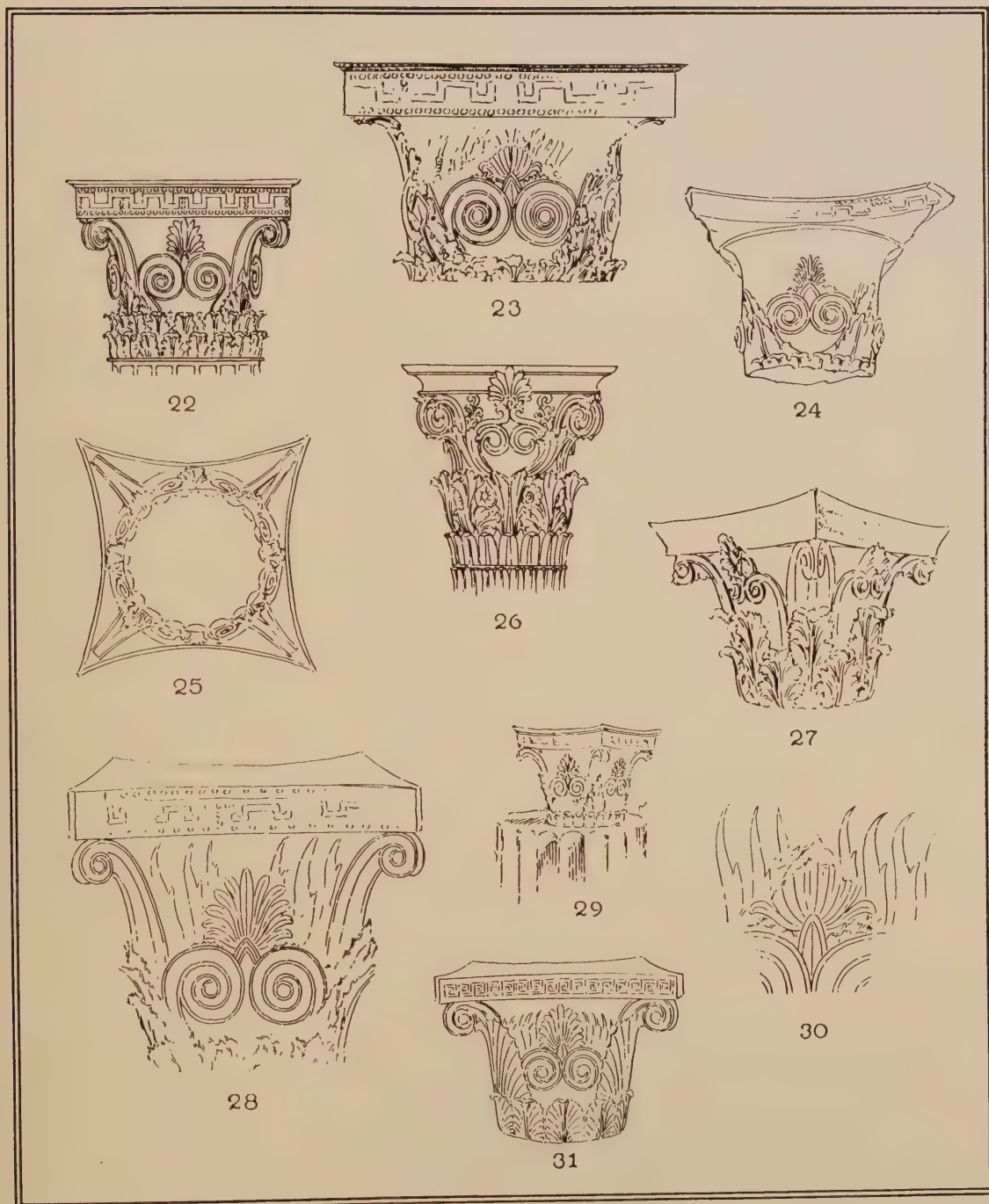
¹Cf. Durm, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

²Gütschow, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

³Cf. *ibid.*, p. 54, n. 7.

⁴Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 49, 56.

⁵Miss Gütschow, *op. cit.*, p. 56, summarizes her impression of the Phigalian capital in the following words: "Alle diese Einzelheiten erscheinen in ihrer Zusammensetzung unorganisch. Der plumpe Kalathos, das Missverhältnis zwischen dem schüchternen Blattkranz und der kolossalen Spirale, deren Steifheit so schlecht zum Schmuck des gerundeten und sich leise wölbenden Kalathos passt, der leere Raum über den Spiralen, den Malerei ausfüllen musste, der ungegliederte Abacus, das alles gibt den Eindruck eines ersten Versuchs."



22—PHIGALIA, COCKERELL'S RECONSTRUCTION, *Durm.* 23—PHIGALIA, COCKERELL'S SKETCH OF COR. CAP., *Gütschow.* 24—PHIGALIA, ALLASON'S SKETCH, *Gütschow.* 25—PHIGALIA, CROSS SECTION OF COR. CAP., *Cockerell.* 26—ATHENS, LYSCRATES MONUMENT, *Bühlmann.* 27—EPIDAUROS, THOLOS, *Springer-Michaelis.* 28—PHIGALIA, RECONSTRUCTION OF COR. CAP., BASED ON EVIDENCE CITED. 29—PHIGALIA, COR. CAP., *Cockerell.* 30—PHIGALIA, HALLER'S DETAIL, *Gütschow.* 31—PHIGALIA, STACKELBERG'S RECONSTRUCTION OF COR. CAP., *Gütschow.*

standard type of the Corinthian capital. Probably other examples had been produced during the interval of the century that separates the Phigalian capital from these two. The lost capital that Scopas designed for the temple at Tegea must have shown improvements, not to speak of the part that Callimachus may have played. In arranging these three capitals in their chronological sequence, the second place would belong to the Lysicrates capital, as the retention of the palmette, the crowding of leaves, and the addition of a girdle of leaves at the bottom seem to reflect the Phigalian capital.

Medallion Carpets

BY M. S. DIMAND

Our knowledge of the history of carpets and their ornaments is still, in spite of many important studies, insufficient. Especially in the dating of early carpets is there a diversity of opinions. In the following investigation I shall discuss the style and chronology of some medallion carpets belonging to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The center of each of these carpets has either a single panel, of varying form, or, in addition to such a panel, attached cartouches and shield-shaped figures.

The carpet in Fig. 1¹ is ornamented with a sixteen-pointed star in the center of which is a smaller one with eight points. Both are covered with stems and flowers on a pale blue and red ground. The main field is decorated with interlaced arabesques and floral scrolls on a salmon ground. The border has the same type of ornament on a green ground.

The carpet in Fig. 2² has in the center a white medallion with an eight-pointed blue star. The points of this star end in palmette forms. Above and below the medallion is a tan cartouche, to which is attached a blue shield outlined with spirals derived from Chinese cloud motives. In each corner of the central field of the carpet is repeated a part of a star form similar to that of the first carpet. The ornament of the fields consists of stems, leaves, and flowers of varying sizes and colors. The rose-colored main field is covered with interlaced arabesques and floral scrolls. The border has interlaced broad bands and palmettes.

In both of these carpets the arabesques of the main fields form circular spirals and end in palmettes of modified shapes,³ recalling the Chinese cloud motive, "tshi," the sign of immortality. Other common elements are the palmette medallions, formed by two palmettes—wing palmettes—and the pattern of the inner guard stripes. Many floral motives, also, are similar in the two carpets.

In spite of these likenesses there is a great difference in style. The outlines of the medallion in the first carpet are strong and angular; in the second they are made up of lobed and curved lines. The flowers of the first carpet are small, with decorative treatment; those of the second are larger and more naturalistic, some having lively serrated outlines. The coloration of the second carpet is richer than that of the first one.

The center of the carpet in Fig. 3⁴ is occupied by a lobed square medallion. On either side of the medallion is attached a cartouche adjoining a heart-shaped field. The medallion is decorated with angular stems and blue, red, and yellow flowers on a red and green ground. The remaining space of the carpet is covered with a constantly repeated floral and geometrical pattern. The border has blue and white bands with palmettes and lotus flowers on a red ground.

¹19 ft., 2 in. by 7 ft., 10 in. Acc. no. 22.100.75. Breck-Morris, *The Ballard Collection of Oriental Rugs*, 1923, no. 1. Called Persian, late 15th cent.

²23 ft., 2 in. by 8 ft., 10 in. Acc. no. 14.40.718, B. Altman coll.

³Breck-Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁴17 ft., 5 in. by 8 ft., 7 in. Acc. no. 22.100.74. Breck-Morris, *op. cit.*, no. 3. Called Persian or Armenian, late 16th or 17th cent.



FIG. 1—NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM: CARPET FROM NORTHERN PERSIA



FIG. 2—NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM: CARPET FROM NORTHERN PERSIA

It is possible to determine the chronology of these carpets with the help of dated Persian carpets and manuscripts. Although only few carpets are dated, there are many manuscripts of which the dates are known. They show us the development of Persian ornament from the purely geometrical style to the naturalistic. The appearance of the latter in the decoration of the Near East was a result of growing Mongolian and Chinese influence. In the fourteenth century such Chinese motives as dragons, phoenixes, and lotus flowers played an important rôle in the decoration of ceramics and textiles of the Near East.¹ The Chinese cloud pattern, "tshi," appears in the Persian-Mongolian miniatures of the end of the thirteenth century, and naturalistic ornament is seen in costumes and tents in the fourteenth-century miniatures.² Only gradually did the Chinese cloud motives and flowers mingle with the traditional geometrical forms of Arabic art. During the first half of the fifteenth century arabesques and palmettes still show the Arabic form. In the second half of this century the Chinese form of palmettes, as seen in our carpets (Figs. 1 and 2), appear for the first time in miniatures.³ Other characteristics of this later period are the light colors, which appear also in the carpet of Fig. 1.

The miniatures from Herat illuminated by Behzad or his pupils are of great value for the dating of carpets. A new era of Persian ornamentation begins with Behzad. The carpets which he represents are of two types. The first is geometrical, with octagon diapers, interlaces, and cufic forms. The second is characterized by floral designs.⁴ This floral ornamentation reflects the influence of naturalistic elements in the decoration of Chinese vases and textiles which were spread over Persia and Asia Minor at this time. Behzad was also the first to represent medallion carpets in his miniatures. The medallions have either angular outlines,⁵ as in the carpet shown in Fig. 1, or, more often, lobed outlines, as in Fig. 2. In general disposition of ornament the design of these miniatures resembles that of Figs. 1 and 2. The arabesques are interlaced with floral scrolls as noted in some details of our carpets.⁶ But in the Herat miniatures of the end of the fifteenth century the floral and geometrical ornaments are separated. The first appear in the medallions, as in Figs. 1 and 2; the second are used in the main field.⁷ Among the decorative motives are rosettes, various star flowers, palmettes of Chinese style, and interlaced bands similar to those of the border in Fig. 2. The real Chinese cloud bands, in worm shape,⁸ are not yet used. They occur first in Ispahan miniatures of the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁹ Introduced at Tabriz, they became a characteristic feature of nearly all the carpets in the Sefavi period (1502-1736).

At the beginning of the Sefavi period traditional design, such as we see in the carpets first discussed, still prevailed. Some miniatures in manuscripts dated 1520 and 1523,¹⁰ with their arabesques and flowers, recall the ornament in our second carpet (Fig. 2). Among the circular arabesques of this carpet there appear a few naturalistic flowers. Some of these, seen in the cartouche field, are new types, unknown in pure Persian decoration.

¹Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, II, fig. 334.

²Martin, *The Miniature Painting of Persia, India, and Turkey*, Pls. 43-47.

³Schulz, *Die persisch-islam. Miniaturmalerei*, Pls. 119, 120, from a MS. dated 1463.

⁴Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 69, from a MS. dated 1467.

⁵*Ibid.*, Pl. 77, from a MS. dated 1485.

⁶*Ibid.*, Pls. 70, 72, 73, 76, from MSS. dated 1488 and 1494.

⁷*Ibid.*, Pls. 75-78, from a MS. dated 1485.

⁸Breck-Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁹Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 119, from a MS. dated 1507-1527.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, fig. 27, Pl. 246.

The year 1520, in which the Sefavi dynasty conquered Khurasan, was of great importance for the Tabriz schools. Behzad and other artists from Herat were brought to the West, and with them came artistic ideas from the East. Chinese floral motives were known before but were less naturalistically treated. After 1520 other floral motives, which seem to be of Indian origin, began to appear. The most striking features of these flowers are the serrated outlines and the rich, realistic coloring. The artistic tendency of India was always toward an exaggeration of natural forms; and at the time of Behzad Indian carpets were doubtless known in Persia. These new floral motives, as well as the Chinese cloud bands, are more and more frequently used and finally supersede the arabesques, which are now less conventionally executed than those in the carpets of Figs. 1 and 2. The best example of this style is the Ardebil carpet, dated 1540, at the Victoria and Albert Museum.¹ The remarkable ornament of this carpet consists of very finely executed floral scrolls and flowers, completely corresponding with those of some miniatures dated 1537 and 1539-1543.² Of the same period as the Ardebil carpet is one in the Ballard collection of the Metropolitan Museum.³

Comparing the carpet in Fig. 2 with the Ardebil carpet, it is quite evident that the former must be dated earlier than 1540, probably in the period between 1500 and 1530. The more geometrical and conventional forms of the first carpet (Fig. 1) induce us to assign it to the second half of the fifteenth century, to about 1480. Between these two carpets is to be placed a fragment of a medallion carpet in the Ballard collection.⁴ The floral motives of this carpet are early in style; even the cloud bands, which form medallions in the cartouche field, are more in the style of the end of the fifteenth century.

The medallion, the border, and some of the motives in the carpet of Fig. 3 occur in Persian carpets. Other elements, such as the angular stems and the combination of the floral motives with geometrical figures, are unknown in Persian art but are characteristic of the carpets of Asia Minor. Also, the method of decorating with repeated conventional flowers, the black-brown ground, and the blue and yellow flowers appear in the Ushak and Armenian carpets. Other elements which point to Asia Minor are the Ghiordes technique and the cross motives formed of four parts like lilies. These cross motives, which appear in the medallion of the third carpet (Fig. 3), occur also in the first carpet (Fig. 1), as well as in some others which belong to the group of carpets represented by Fig. 2.⁵ They are derived from the old carpets of Asia Minor.⁶ Northern Persia and Asia Minor early exchanged decorative motives. Angularly treated Persian motives were adopted in Asia Minor, and some formal Armenian motives appeared sporadically in Persia. To the latter class belong some of the large rosettes with a kind of cross in the center. Since we find these decorative elements from Asia Minor in our first two carpets (Figs. 1 and 2), we may assume that they were made in Northern Persia, probably at Tabriz, and were influenced by the Herat school. The carpet shown in Fig. 3 must come from Asia Minor and must date from the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century, to which period the majority of carpets from Asia Minor can be assigned.

¹Kendrick, *Guide to the Collection of Carpets* (Victoria and Albert Museum), Pl. I.

²Martin, *op. cit.*, Pls. 122-129, 132-137.

³Breck-Morris, *op. cit.*, Pl. 5.

⁴2 ft., 4 in. by 3 ft., 2½ in. Acc. no. 22.100.67. Breck-Morris, *op. cit.*, no. 2. Called Persian, about 1500.

⁵Martin, *A History of Oriental Carpets*, Pl. II.

⁶*Ibid.*, Pl. XXX.



FIG. 3—NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM: CARPET FROM ASIA MINOR

REVIEWS

PAINTER AND SPACE OR THE THIRD DIMENSION IN GRAPHIC ART. BY HOWARD RUSSELL BUTLER. NEW YORK, SCRIBNER, APRIL, 1923.

VISION AND THE TECHNIQUE OF ART. BY A. AMES, JR., C. A. PROCTOR, AND BLANCHE AMES. 47 PP. PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, VOL. 58, NO. 1, FEB., 1923.

In *Painter and Space* is traced the history of man's attempts to produce in drawings and paintings the appearance of solidity, distance, atmosphere, and light. The initial step in the long development was the drawing of outlines. This was followed by the production of the silhouette, the rendering of the space within the outline in a flat tone different from that of the background, illustrated by Greek and Etruscan vases and affording great opportunities for decorative effects. But as yet, though there was some indication of relative distance of different parts, all was flat. By some happy chance shading was discovered and the rendering of rotundity made possible, also "for the first time light entered the picture" (p. 14). It is interestingly suggested that this discovery gave rise to the first serious conflict in art circles and with it the first art critic appeared upon the scene. "We now come to another and equally interesting subject—the cast shadow. . . . The effect of this is to throw the figure forward, to imply depth to the background, and to introduce more light and air into the picture" (p. 15).

The next technical element to enter graphic art was geometric perspective, which, we are told, was probably understood by the Greeks but later lost to Christian art. As Christianity became the religion of Europe, its ascetic character gave way to the pomp and splendor of Byzantine and Roman influences, and its graphic art, principally mosaic, was designed for richness of decorative effect rather than for realistic portrayal. Then followed a long decadence until the beginning of the eleventh century, to be followed by four centuries during which there was an ever increasing output of pictures, now generally classified as "primitives." "Only to a limited degree could they produce the effect of a third dimension. . . . There was a continuing struggle to increase the effect of space and especially to solve the problems of geometric perspective" (p. 22). This was especially true, we are told, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, during which pictures having more than one horizon were painted. One of these, the Holy Family by Van der Weyden, is analyzed (Fig. 9) and shows no less than six different horizons. The mastering of geometric perspective, in the time of Squarcione, is regarded by our author as marking the line between primitive and modern painting.

Geometric perspective is monocular, that is, it gives the effect of distance as seen by a single eye, when, moreover, that eye is capable of clear vision and sharp focus on both near objects and distant ones at the same time, and when the atmosphere is perfectly clear. Hence, though geometric perspective is fundamental it requires some important modifications to accord with actual vision. As far as these rest on the optical characteristics of the eyes they are discussed under the heading Binocular Perspective and lead to these conclusions. Verticals in planes other than the plane of focus tend to disappear; horizontals retain their strength better but tend to blur. Areas out of focus tend to become unified both as to shade and color, and details not in the principal plane lose their

importance. Binocular perspective was introduced gradually in the course of a century beginning toward the close of the Renaissance, but in the opinion of our author the matter has not yet been exhausted. "The use of binocular perspective in painting has never, to my knowledge, been scientifically worked out" (p. 40). "The future is yet to see a true school of binocular perspective—a school which will surely have its day" (p. 63). These statements are especially interesting in view of the investigations of Prof. Ames and his coworkers in this very field.

Chapter VI of *Painter and Space* is devoted to color, especially value scales, which play so important a part in "atmospheric perspective" (Chapter VII), the next step in the conquest of the third dimension. The necessity for correct values in painting was fully appreciated only about the middle of the last century, and these values contribute, our author concludes, to produce the effects of distance, air, and light, and above all they render color effective. Painting with correct rendering of values, known as the plein-air method, grew into a flourishing school by 1880 with tendencies, however, to convention in composition, loss of vitality in color, and the use of too dark keys. Then in 1889 came impressionism, under the leadership of Claude Monet, whose innovation consisted in placing side by side small areas of different colors, which at a distance would blend into a single resultant possessing more vitality than could be obtained by the mixture of pigments. Beside calling attention to the need of purer color and the advantage of higher value keys for luminous subjects, "it remained for the impressionists to give that wonderful attribute of light—its vibratory effect" (p. 126). Impressionism is, however, not without its darker side since composition, drawing, and correct values have all suffered, and it is usual to make the spots of color so large that one must go back from four to ten times the focal distance to have them blend, thereby making the geometric perspective incorrect (p. 128).

This brings us to the end of the story since the author concludes after reviewing Post Impressionism and Modernistics that they do not contribute to securing greater effect of space in painting. *Painter and Space* is, we believe, an important contribution to the history of painting from a new point of view. It should prove of especial value to painters on this account and for the many practical directions to be drawn both from the historical parts of the text and from the chapters treating of A Short-hand Method of Sketching and Painting the Solar Eclipse of June 8, 1918. The text is clearly written and the illustrations well selected.

The investigation, *Vision and the Technique of Art*, is directed, first, to ascertaining the peculiar characteristics of retinal pictures, and, second, to interpreting those characteristics in terms of paint on canvas. The greater part of the discussion relates to retinal pictures using one eye only. If an eye is directed towards and focussed on a small white object the image is as clear as possible but by no means perfect. The yellow component of the white light is brought to a sharp focus on the retina while red and, in greater degree, blue are spread out into a blur or fringe. This is clearly shown by photographs taken, with appropriate filters, through a lens having the optical properties of the lens of the eye, a method which is employed throughout the investigation, comparison also being made with photographs taken through a corrected lens.

This defect, chromatic aberration, is small if the object is on the line of sight and in focus, but it is sufficiently large to be seen by a careful observer when the object, though on the line of sight, is not in focus. Our authors find that near objects are fringed with red and distant ones with blue. It is suggested that this is a means by which a single eye is

capable of judging distance and that in painting, near objects should be rendered with red edges and distant ones with blue. Some paintings by Millet are said to exhibit this method, and by its use a marked effect of depth was obtained by Mrs. Ames.

When an object lies at some distance from the line of sight, the character of its picture on the retina is dependent not alone on its distance from the observer but also on the directions of its edges, our authors find. Thus a radial edge (*i. e.*, directed toward the center of the field of view) when nearer than the focal distance will be softened and have a colored fringe, while a tangential edge (*i. e.*, at right angles to the radial) will be sharper and more distinct. When the object is beyond the focal distance the reverse is true. "In paintings made by Mrs. Oakes Ames in which objects on the sides of the pictures were depicted with these characteristics a marked sense of depth is given by the objects taking their proper relative distances. The accentuating of tangential and radial lines in their proper planes is found in many paintings, especially those of Turner, in whose work it is apparent in the accentuation of tangential lines inside the focus and of radial lines on and behind the object plane of the scene he is painting" (p. 26).

Next, "barrel distortion," said to be the most easily noticed peculiarity of vision, is discussed. It causes straight lines which do not pass through the center of the field of view to appear to be bowed outward, and objects away from the line of vision to seem relatively smaller than those near it. This distortion has been observed in the Last Supper of Leonardo da Vinci, several works by Rembrandt, Israels, and Turner, The Greenwood by Inness, and in the paintings of other artists of the past. Among the works of living artists thus far examined by Professor Ames it has been found only in The Peace Conference by Orpen.

Observations were made on the color sensitiveness of the eye, showing, in agreement with Abney, that blue appears much more saturated on the periphery of the retina than on the fovea. Since chromatic aberration is caused principally by the blue rays, reduction of sensitiveness to these on the fovea is conducive to sharper vision in the center of the field of view. We are told that shadows imaged on the side of the retina seem more blue than when looked at directly, but artists usually make all shadows of out-door subjects blue, since "it was probably found that pictures look better with blue shadows all over them than without any blue shadows at all" (p. 34). Some of Corot's pictures show slightly brighter, warmer centers.

Lastly there is a brief consideration of binocular vision, leading to the conclusion that its effects on painting are: first, the broadening of everything in the horizontal direction; second, the lessening of value contrasts toward the edges of the picture; third, the doubling of images of objects not at the convergence point. This is in substantial agreement with Mr. Butler.

We have yet to consider the method which, our authors maintain, should form the basis of representing actuality in painting. Three methods are contrasted. "First, a reproduction of actuality can be attempted. By this is meant as close a reproduction as possible of all the objects in the scene in every measurement and detail. . . . In the pictorial arts it has been most closely approximated by photographs taken with a corrected lens. . . . The same result is accomplished in painting and drawing in which the artist depicts every part of the scene as it appears to him while looking directly at it" (p. 38). This method is generally admitted to be unsatisfactory. The second method consists in placing on canvas an enlarged replica of the picture which a scene before one makes on the retina, or, more exactly, a composite of the pictures made on the

two retinas. "Such depicting of nature can be approximated photographically by means of a lens which produces the same characteristic imaging as the lens system of the eye, and a plate whose sensitivity over its various parts is similar to that of the retina" (p. 39). It is important to note that this class of picture is to be viewed by directing the eyes successively to all parts of it, not keeping them fixed and focussed on the center of interest. A picture of the third kind is so painted that when one stands at the proper distance from it and fixes the eyes on its center of interest and holds them there, the pictures on the retinas are like the retinal pictures which the actual scene itself would produce. This class of picture should be painted free from distortion and increase of blue from the center outward, for the eye will supply both these visual peculiarities. In the respects just mentioned the technique of painting in this third manner is simpler than the second but in other ways is more difficult and seems not to have been tried. Although Prof. Ames says "it is questioned whether such a picture would be satisfactory" (p. 41), the underlying principle has much to recommend it.

Prof. Ames and his coworkers are developing the second method of painting, in support of which they urge "the use by so many of the great painters of characteristics of the retinal picture which is the strongest evidence of the artistic value of pictures of this type" (p. 39), and their superiority to pictures like photographs taken through corrected lenses, *i. e.*, by the first method. Also, "the purpose of the great artist is to make others see nature as he sees it. . . . He has to put into his picture nature's impression on himself, the beauty and truth he sees. . . . The purpose of art is to awaken subjective associative processes in those who look at it. . . . The natural way to cause us to recall our mental visual images or start a train of them in motion is to present to us a picture similar to them. When we look at a picture of this type we recognize that it is an attempt to reproduce not actuality but our impression of actuality" (p. 40). Admitting the force of the reasons given as against the first method of painting, it is not evident to the reviewer that they show clearly the superiority of the second as compared with the third method, leaving difficulties of execution, already mentioned, aside.

It is perhaps too early to express an opinion on the value of the investigation to art or on the way in which its findings may best be employed. We have long felt that one of the things most necessary to the advancement of art in the United States is a body of trained workers capable of clear and logical thought to formulate the underlying problems of art creation and then attack them experimentally. *Vision and the Technique of Art* is a serious attempt to study an important problem, and the method of painting indicated should be tested by further trial at the hands of artists. To this end it might be well were the method presented in more elementary form and with greater detail as to just how to proceed, with some indications of the widths of colored fringes, the amounts of distortions, etc. There is some danger of the method being discredited if visual peculiarities are overemphasized.

Edwin M. Blake

66 ETCHINGS BY MEMBERS OF THE PRINT SOCIETY. EDITED BY E. HESKETH HUBBARD, WITH INTRODUCTION BY KINETON PARKES. 4TO. BREMERE, HANTS, THE ENGLISH PRINT SOCIETY, 1923. 21 SHILLINGS.

This is the second of the English Print Society's publications. The first is *On Making and Collecting Etchings*, and both have the very definite and altogether laudable purpose of interesting the average man in prints. If these volumes could only reach the average man, they would succeed. Tastefully and beautifully bound, printed in large

type on heavy paper with ample spaces and margins, the *66 Etchings* is a book any man would love to possess and fondle for his mere delight in a well bound and printed book, and one, too, which he would love to peruse in the quiet of his evening study for his pleasure in well written paragraphs. And then if he be not already a collector of prints—or even though he be one—there are the sixty-six full-page reproductions of etchings, drypoints, and aquatints, with seven reproductions of woodcuts and lithographs, making seventy-three in all, to lead him into the world of art. For, as the writer of the introduction so aptly remarks, prints can give the man with the average pocketbook a pleasure which no other forms of art can give. He can collect or possess prints, numbers of them, original works of art, sometimes by the great masters, while he would feel it possible to own but a very few fine oil paintings or statues, if any at all.

Strangely, to most people the making of prints is a mystery; their nature and qualities are equally unknown. Cognizant of this, Mr. Parkes, in his introduction, explains and describes them in a most delightfully interesting and simple way. His own appreciation of prints is so joyous that we envy it and covet it for ourselves until, before we know, we too are collectors, eager to learn how to mount, preserve, and exhibit prints of our own—all of which we are very carefully told how to do.

As for the illustrations, it takes but little knowledge of prints to convince one that the members of the Print Society here represented (and let it be known they are not all Englishmen) show a thoroughly trained knowledge of the technical processes. As examples of craftsmanship the prints are all good. There is no defiance of sound tradition, no attempt at mere novelty. One would say that they are sound, enjoyable, and companionable, without being original. Yet there is originality in some. The work of Honoré Broutelle, A. K. Goyder, Stella Langdale, and Karel Toudl shows that the artists have something new to say. Others reflect the work of greater masters. Thomas Todd Blaylock's work is poetic, like Lepère's; Bolton Brown's reminds one of Fantin-Latour; that of J. Knight, of the old English landscapists.

But, after all, we care more for imagination than for originality, therefore we like the work of J. R. K. Duff. To mention more names would be useless, for the reader must discover for himself the work of these contemporaries. For the reviewer it is necessary only to summarize: what stands out conspicuously about the book is its evident desire to inform, to acquaint the reader with what prints are and what print makers are doing. In this it is successful and praiseworthy.

Arthur Edwin Bye

LIONS IN GREEK ART. BY ELEANOR FERGUSON RAMBO. IX, 56 PP. BRYN MAWR DISSERTATION.

The fascinating theme of the portraiture of the lion in Greek art is treated by Miss Rambo in this short, readable dissertation, which should make its personal appeal to every art student. The period covered by the author comprises, however, but the seventh, sixth, and the early part of the fifth centuries; perhaps for this reason she has not attempted to furnish a complete catalogue of the occurrences of the lion *motif*, though it would have been advisable to have considered at least such fourth-century renderings as that of the slain lion at Lampsacus and that in the Craterus group by Lysippus and some of the many Hellenistic representations. Dr. Rambo seems to have begun her task by making a somewhat careful study of the external anatomy of the lion in nature; she likewise displays great industry in her examination of the ancient works of art no less than in her

consultation of such modern authorities as might be expected to cast even a ray of light upon the problem in hand.

After the Introduction—in which the thesis is postulated that the continental Greeks had no first-hand knowledge of the king of beasts, and that all their lion-types in art are borrowed elements—the most noteworthy statements of the Greek writers concerning the lion are brought under review. There follow chapters dealing with: Painted Lions, Sculptured Lions, Lion Types on Coins, The Lion in other Minor Arts. A select bibliography is appended.

Dr. Rambo finds that there is nothing in the writings of the Greeks to warrant a belief in the existence of lions in the country in historical times. Essentially the same conclusion was reached some years ago by Professor A. B. Meyer of Dresden in an important article (twice cited in this book) which has been translated and published in the Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1905, under the title, *The Antiquity of the Lion in Greece*. On the other hand, it is to be remarked that the Johns Hopkins University possesses a dissertation (unpublished), *Did the Lion Exist in Greece Within Historic Times?* by Dr. A. M. Soho, a native of Greece, who, after drawing from such sources as palæontology, mythology, art, tradition, history, etc., decides that the lion undoubtedly did exist in Greece in historical times. However, it would appear very probable that all specific literary allusions to the presence of the lion in Greece, and even in Macedonia and Thrace, are derived from the far-famed reference of Herodotus (vii, 126) to the attack on Xerxes' camel train—a story which is easily explained away. Even the trustworthy Pausanias, who says (vi, 5, 4) that lions abound in Thrace, is pretty obviously copying from the author of the *Cynegeticus*, who has himself borrowed from the old historian. Miss Rambo has apparently failed to notice the further statement of Pausanias regarding lions' being found also in the vicinity of Mt. Olympus, but this claim, too, is obviously based on a still more slender support. It is doubtful, however, if much value is to be attached to the result of the writer's examination of "lion-names" of persons and localities (pp. 1, 2) or to her *argumentum e silentio* (p. 7) that had the lion been indigenous, we should have had him appearing as the attribute of some purely Hellenic—and not imported—deity. It must be recalled that (1) local lion-names are common enough in parts of the world where the animal has certainly not been found since Palæolithic times, and (2) when we speak of deities who are purely and essentially Hellenic, we are skating on very thin ice indeed.

Miss Rambo finds that this lack of knowledge of the living creature in Greece proper is strongly reflected in the art, where it appears that the lion constitutes an exotic element introduced, presumably, from Asia Minor, where the lion was undoubtedly known to a certain extent even in the classical period. Notwithstanding, "the Ionic artists . . . find their models in previous or contemporary art, and repeat their copy indefinitely" (p. 15). But the author rather weakens her case by insisting on the comparative inefficiency of the Greek artist in depicting the forms of animals in general—even those perfectly familiar to him. She finds fault (p. v) with the bad relative proportion of the horses and riders on the Parthenon frieze, but later (p. viii, n. 2) has occasion to explain the situation correctly on the ground of the artist's desire to preserve isocephalism. Many writers have remarked on the correctness of form in these sculptures, most recently Dr. Charles Singer, a most competent anatomist, who speaks of the horses' heads as "magnificent" (*Greek Biology and Greek Medicine*, p. 8). Reference might also be made to Morin-Jean (*Dessin des Animaux en Grèce*), who is far from displeased with the animal

forms of Greek art. Dr. Helen M. Johnson, in a study of *The Portrayal of the Dog on Greek Vases* (*Class. Weekly*, xii, pp. 209-213), has no difficulty in distinguishing the various canine breeds. Dr. Singer, furthermore, is particularly enthusiastic over the representation of a lioness and young which occurs on a Caeretan hydria in the Louvre (Salle E, no. 298). He finds that the work is done with remarkable fidelity to nature, and even the rather unusual dentition of the animal is accurately portrayed (*op. cit.*, p. 7).

One cannot help feeling that Dr. Rambo has considerably exaggerated the inability of the Greek artist to depict a lion correctly—particularly in respect to ceramic art. After all, has a single vase come down to us, dated earlier than the middle of the fifth century, on which the human form is painted in a manner wholly free from conventionality? It is indeed difficult to discern wherein the conventionalism with which animals and men are treated by the potter differs in kind or degree. Miss Rambo also remarks (p. 33): "The plastic lion in Greek art . . . bends both fore legs close to the ground, as if about to spring on its prey. The latter pose betrays the artist's ignorance of the lion, which does not like the dog spring from the bended fore legs, but crouches flat on the ground, and gathers the whole body for the pounce." While this is doubtless true of the lion's action while he is actually engaged in hunting his prey, that he has the power of springing dog-fashion upon occasion is made very manifest by observing the movements of circus or menagerie lions.

A few sporadic points in the dissertation may be noted. Miss Rambo, quoting Daremberg-Saglio, says (p. vi, n. 2) that harpies are probably of Egyptian origin. This might well have been stated more positively. The harpy, which is identical in form with the "soul-bird" of vase-paintings and sarcophagi, is probably, as Mrs. Strong (*Apotheosis and After Life*, p. 148) maintains, to be regarded as a vehicle of apotheosis, the carrier of the soul to the future world; and representations of it are to be seen too often and too suggestively on Egyptian mummy-cases, to leave any doubt as to its origin.

In the views on coins of the combat of Heracles with the Nemean Lion the hero is almost invariably found on the left, the lion on the right. This arrangement is accounted for by the author (p. 45) on the ground that the *motif* must have been adopted from Chaldean art, and it is suggested that the principle of the lucky left in Chaldean orientation may account for the origin of the situation. But surely one need not wander as far afield as Mesopotamia to look for an explanation if a simple one exists near home. The truth is that where the human face or figure occurs on Greek coins earlier than, say, the Age of Pericles, it is to be found (if not in full-face) almost invariably looking towards the right. Where the lion appears in the scene, he naturally has to face Heracles, whose orthodox position is thus unchanged. Why the right-facing view should thus be preferred may be difficult to explain. Conceivably, it may be concerned with the lucky right-hand motive of Greek orientation. But the figure as carved on the die would face the *left*. May not this simply mean that a right-handed engraver found it easier to represent the figure in this attitude?

The author in another place remarks (p. 47): "Even from Greek gems the lion disappears by the end of the sixth century." This statement appears altogether too sweeping. See, *e. g.*, Furtwängler, *Ant. Gem.*, pl. ix, 49, for a gem showing a beautifully executed lion scene; its date is about 400 B. C. All through the book Miss Rambo appears to overemphasize (as is fashionable today) the so-called apotropaic element.

Most unfortunately, the many merits of the dissertation are offset by a great number of small errors and inconsistencies, not all of which, by any means, can be blamed on the

printer. One notices mistakes in the accenting and even spelling of Greek words on pp. 2, 5, 6, 9, 14, 30, 31. Misspellings of the following English or Anglicized words occur: p. v, *millennium*; p. 2, *Boeotia*; pp. 10, 42, *Peloponnese*; p. 18, *Aeschylus*; p. 21, *principle*; p. 23, *Gilgamesh*; p. 39, *Chaldean*, *winged*, and *Cilicia*; p. 42 *et passim*, *Panticapaeum*. Reference, p. 2, should be to Paus. vii, 6, 6, and not as given (Teubner); and on p. 27, to Mrs. Strong's *Apotheosis*, p. 260, n. 43. On p. 7 we should read *Tomba dell' Orco*, and on p. 22, *entablature* or *frieze* in place of *architrave*. The form of title applied to Fox's *Mythology* in the Bibliography is misleading; there are also mistakes in the names of Roscher's *Lexikon*, Furtwängler's *Antike Gemmen*, the *B. C. H.* and the *Jahreshefte*—all well-known publications. One notices, also, more than a half dozen inconsistencies, and a purist might often find fault with the punctuation.

Notwithstanding the presence in this dissertation of so many of these distressing slips and oversights, we trust that Miss Rambo will continue her researches in this exceedingly interesting field, and will later on be in a position to provide us with a well-illustrated volume devoted to this theme and covering the entire period of Greek art.¹ One might suggest the desirability of a more complete investigation of the works of art portraying the lion which are unmistakably from Asia Minor. Interesting results might also be obtained from an investigation of the ceramic wares of Naucratis and Daphnae, as we are here on the borderland of the real home of the king of beasts, Africa.

A. D. Fraser

¹Dr. Theodore Leslie Shear, of Princeton University, is planning such a corpus of illustrations of all ancient representations of lions. D. M. R.

NOTES

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

The thirteenth annual meeting of the College Art Association of America was held, in conjunction with the meetings of the Archæological Institute of America and the American Philological Association, at Princeton University, Princeton, N. J., on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, December 27-29, 1923.

PROGRAM

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27

- 1.00 p. m. Annual Luncheon in Procter Hall, Graduate College
- 3.00 p. m. Informal Gathering in Commons Room, Graduate College
General discussion of European teachers
- 4.30-6.00 p. m. Tea in McCormick Hall
Inspection of the equipment and collections of the University
- 7.15 p. m. Dinner as guests of the University in Procter Hall, Graduate College
Address of Welcome
President JOHN GRIER HIBBEN, *Princeton University*
Illusion and the Ideal
EDWARD KENNETH RAND, *President of the American Philological Association*

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28

- 9.30 a. m. Meeting in McCosh Hall, Room 2
The Development of Mental Processes Attendant on Artistic Creation
RAYMOND S. STITES, *Brown University*
Study and Appreciation of Fine Value Relations
CLIFFORD H. RIEDELL, *Smith College*
A Study in the Psychology of the Subject of the Madonna and Child
I. The Visual Presentation of the Subject Matter
HERBERT RICHARD CROSS, *New York City*
II. The Psychological Interpretation
L. PIERCE CLARK, M. D., *New York City*
- 2.30 p. m. Joint Meeting with the Archæological Institute of America in McCosh Hall, Room 2
The Story of a Tapestry Woven Dorsal of the Fourteenth Century
R. M. RIEFSTAHL, *New York University*
An Unidentified Painting by Conrad Witz in the Frick Collection
ADELE COULIN WEIBEL, *New York City*
Modena, Bari, and Hades
ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS, *Columbia University*
The Persistence of Egyptian Traditions in Art and Religion after the Pharaohs
KATE DENNY MCKNIGHT, *Vassar College*
The Chariot at the Gates of the Acropolis
LEICESTER B. HOLLAND, *University of Pennsylvania*
- 4.30-6.00 p. m. Tea in McCormick Hall
Inspection of the equipment and collections of the University

FRIDAY DECEMBER 28—CONCLUDED

- 8.00 p. m. Joint Meeting with the Archæological Institute of America and the American Philological Association in McCosh Hall, Room 10
 The Palace and Beehive Tombs at Mycenæ
 A. J. B. WACE, *Charles Eliot Norton Lecturer of the Institute*
 Latin Exercises from a Greek School Room
 CLIFFORD H. MOORE, *Harvard University*
 Luciano da Laurana and the High Renaissance
 FISKE KIMBALL, *New York University*
 Tridimensional Criticism
 JOHN SHAPLEY, *President of the College Art Association*
- 9.30 p. m. Social Gathering in McCormick Hall

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29

- 9.30 a. m. Meeting in McCosh Hall, Room 2
 Spanish, French, Dutch, and English Paintings in the Lehman Collection
 WALTER W. S. COOK, *Princeton University*
 The Sculpture of the Pediment of the Siphnian Treasury
 CLARENCE KENNEDY, *Smith College*
 The College Art Association and the Colleges
 ALICE V. V. BROWN, *Wellesley College*
 The Sources of Mediæval Style
 C. R. MOREY, *Princeton University*
 Business

MINUTES

Professor Johnny Roosval of the University of Stockholm made the following communication to the members of the College Art Association:

My purpose in coming to America was to establish relations between Swedish and American scholars. I had no idea what great collections were being made and what valuable research was being accomplished here. For it is impossible as long as the American art literature is so imperfectly represented in Sweden to follow the course of American progress. To better the situation I propose that the University of Stockholm, which because of the newly founded Zorn Institute occupies a leading position in art studies in Sweden, undertake exchanges with American institutions. I shall mention some publications which the Zorn Institute can exchange, partly its own publications, partly others made available for the purpose through an annual donation of Fru Emma Zorn, widow of the famous painter, Anders Zorn. In order to put the matter of exchange on a business basis I state the approximate price of the Swedish books. Most of them have a *resumé* in German, English, or French.

Boëthius, Tegelörnerade Gråstenkyrkor, \$3.

“ Träarkitektur, \$5.

Curman & Roosval, Sveriges Kyrkor, 16 vols., more to follow, each containing seven churches and having *resumé* in German, \$4 a volume.

Roosval, Dopfunter i Historiska Museet, \$3.

“ Riddare S. Göran, \$2.

“ Nya S. Görans Studier, \$5.

“ Studier i Danmark, \$5.

“ Stadshuset: Stockholm, 3 vols., \$30.

Salvén, Bonaden från Skog, \$4.

Etc.

The Zorn Institute will give on request further particulars concerning the above-named books and will furnish information concerning art and art study in Sweden in order to keep in contact with American scholars. It will also gladly exchange photographs.

On approval of the Auditing Committee the following report of the Secretary-Treasurer for the period of 1923 since the last meeting was accepted: Expenditures, 1923, \$2155.10; receipts, 1923, \$1075.76; deficit, 1923, \$1079.34; deficit, 1921-23, \$586.46.

A resolution thanking Princeton University for its hospitality and the members of the local committee for their arrangements in behalf of the Association was voted.

A resolution empowering the President to appoint a Committee on Standards was voted.

The following report of the Committee on Nominations was adopted:

| | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| President | John Shapley |
| Vice-President | Alfred V. Churchill |
| Secretary-Treasurer | W. Frederick Stohlman |
| Directors | Charles R. Morey Myrtilla Avery |

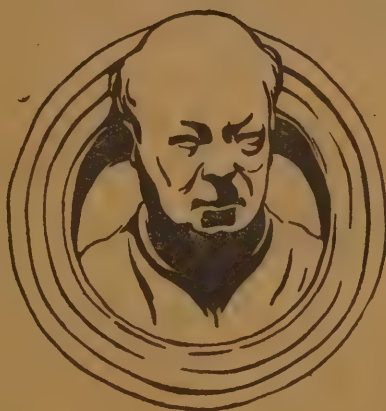
Vol. VI

No. 4

The Art Bulletin

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY THE

College Art Association
Of America



JUNE

NINETEEN HUNDRED TWENTY-FOUR

One dollar a copy Three dollars a volume

BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE

Entered as second-class matter December 3, 1919, at the Post Office
at Providence, Rhode Island, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

The Art Bulletin

An illustrated quarterly published by the*

COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Members of the College Art Association receive The Art Bulletin.

Life membership is open to all; the fee is one hundred dollars.

Sustaining membership is open to all; the annual fee is ten dollars.

Associate membership, or subscription to The Art Bulletin, is open to all; the annual fee is three dollars.

Active membership is open to those engaged in art education; the annual fee is five dollars.

The College Art Association year extends from May to May. All subscriptions to The Art Bulletin begin with the first number of the current volume.

Address all communications to

COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON SQUARE

NEW YORK

The Art Bulletin

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY THE

College Art Association of America

Editor
JOHN SHAPLEY

Editorial Board
DAVID M. ROBINSON, *Chairman*
ALFRED M. BROOKS JOHN PICKARD
FRANK J. MATHER ARTHUR K. PORTER
CHARLES R. MOREY PAUL J. SACHS

CONTENTS

JUNE MCMXXIV

| | Page |
|--|------|
| THE ULYSSES PANELS BY PIERO DI COSIMO AT VASSAR COLLEGE, BY KATE DENNY McKNIGHT. | 99 |
| A ROMANESQUE MADONNA, BY ADELE COULIN WEIBEL. | 103 |
| ROY SHELDON AS CREATOR OF FORM, BY W. R. AGARD. | 105 |
| REVIEWS. | 107 |



FIG. 1



FIG. 2

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., VASSAR COLLEGE: CASSONE PANELS BY PIERO DI COSIMO. THE WANDERINGS OF ULYSSES

The Ulysses Panels by Piero di Cosimo at Vassar College

BY KATE DENNY MCKNIGHT

Vassar College has the good fortune to possess two panels of unusual interest dealing with the wanderings of the crafty Ulysses. These paintings, crowded with dramatic episodes, furnish an interesting commentary on the stories of Homer and Ovid as interpreted by an artist of the Renaissance keenly alive to the fantastic possibilities of the narrative.

In the Polyphemus panel (Fig. 1) one sees in the foreground Ulysses and his comrades boring out the giant's eye. Further to the right is the outwitting of Polyphemus where the warriors make their way to safety, each with a sheep tied on his back. In the third plane of the picture to the extreme right Polyphemus stalks into the sea, supporting himself with a pine tree staff, and preparing to hurl a mass of rock at the ships of the unfortunate Ulysses. At the left a diminutive Athena, who bears considerable resemblance to the Perseus in the *Freeing of Andromeda* by Piero di Cosimo, hurls destruction from the sky upon the walled city of Troy. Nearer the foreground Ajax Oileus has been blasted by Poseidon. It is difficult to see how more detail could have been crowded into a single picture, and yet, owing to the depth of the landscape, and the expanse of sea, the space does not seem overcrowded.

The main theme of the second panel (Fig. 2) is the Contest with the Laestrygonians, with the additional episodes of Ulysses and King Aeolus at the left and the story of Circe at the right.

These two pictures are cassone panels painted in oil and are identical in size, thirty-one by sixty-three inches. An end panel (Fig. 5) from the same cassone and by the same artist is in the collection of Mr. Stanley Mortimer, of New York. It depicts the Return of Ulysses, in several episodes, the recognition by his old nurse, Euryclea, the greeting of Telemachus, the slaying of the suitors, and Penelope at the loom.

In the catalogue of Italian Primitives (p. 101), which were exhibited in 1917 for the benefit of the American War Relief, Dr. Sirén assigned these panels to Francesco Granacci on the ground that two sketches in the Stockholm National Museum are preliminary studies.¹ These same drawings at Stockholm have been attributed by Berenson not to Granacci but to Domenico Ghirlandaio.² Whether either of these artists or some other was responsible for the sketches is to my mind of little consequence so far as our panels are concerned, though I hesitate to set my opinion against that of critics far more expert than myself.

Photographs of the Stockholm drawings show in one instance (Fig. 3) five Roman soldiers in various attitudes, but none of these soldiers bear any resemblance to the armed companions of Ulysses, except for the type of armor, which occurs frequently in pictures of the period. The soldiers of the drawing are taller and more slender, their necks are longer and lack the heavy bulge of muscle which appears between the shoulder and jaw of the figures in our panels. Moreover, the Roman soldiers have a swaggering air and are convincingly drawn with spirit and energy, surpassing the draftsmanship of the Vassar pictures. In fact, the soldier in the middle group is suggestive of Perugino's work in the *Cambio* at Perugia.

¹Osvold Sirén, *Italienskahandteckningar från 1400 och 1500 talen i National museum*, p. 21, nr. 54.

²*Drawings of Florentine Painters*, nr. 2, 754B. Sogliani.

In the other sketch at Stockholm (Fig. 4) appear at the left a large, skilfully foreshortened nude seen from the rear and a small figure of a soldier springing backward, like Myron's Marsyas, in alarm. In the center is a Flagellation of Christ, with two figures inflicting punishment. At the right are two soldiers and the head of an elderly man, turbaned and wearing a long beard.

The wide-eyed, open-mouthed expression of the startled man and the long, straight profile of one of the soldiers at the right might, with some stretch of the imagination, be associated with certain figures in our panels. But closer analysis will show that where terror is depicted in the Ulysses panels the expression is less dramatic, the open mouth is a different shape, inclined to have square corners, and the eyes instead of being round and staring are drawn together beneath a puckered brow. The one instance of the long, straight profile would scarcely be sufficient evidence for the attribution of our panels to the artist of the Stockholm sketches, especially since the nose has not the broken bridge which is of frequent occurrence in the Ulysses series. It would seem then that the evidence does not bear out the attribution of the panels at Vassar to Granacci, as Sirén would have us suppose, and that we must look elsewhere for the author of the work.

From the manner of painting, the interest in pagan legends, and the fantastic interpretation I am inclined to assign these panels to Piero di Cosimo. Vasari tells us that he "possessed varied powers of fancy." He was a great decorator of cassoni and was particularly fond of mythological subjects, of which there are numerous examples among his works, such as Perseus and Andromeda, Venus and Mars, the Death of Procris, the Lapiths and Centaurs, and the Hunting Scenes in the Metropolitan Museum, to mention only a few. His characteristics are by no means uniform throughout and Vasari says, "his manner was indeed altogether different from that of most other artists in its extravagance or peculiarities; nay, he may even be said to have changed it and adopted a new one for every new work that he executed."

"This variety of manner," remarks an Italian commentator, "renders it difficult to distinguish the works of this master by means of the comparison of one work with another." Certainly this statement is borne out if one compares his religious pictures of Madonnas and saints with his mythological pictures. But one would expect to find similarities of style within the latter group, and such seems to be the case.

A comparison of the Ulysses panels with the Death of Procris, in spite of the difference in spirit, shows considerable similarity. The painting of flora in the foreground of the Laestrygonians is careful and detailed, with a few plants holding a prominent and somewhat isolated position. A similar treatment is observable in the Death of Procris and in Hylas and the Nymphs. The dog in the Procris picture is, aside from the excellent drawing, important in maintaining the balance of composition. In the Polyphemus panel animals are used in the same way, though they are lower in the picture and are not silhouetted against the sky. But their positions are natural, and the goat in particular is carefully observed and excellently drawn. Far more striking is the similarity between the animals wandering along the shore in the background of the Procris picture and the animals which follow Circe in our panel. Common to many of Piero di Cosimo's landscapes is the use of leafless trees with thin, angular twigs, outlined darkly against the sky, combined with some trees which are well supplied with thick bunches of foliage. One notices it in the Death of Procris, the Metropolitan Hunting Scenes, the portrait of Simonetta Vespucci, and it is equally characteristic of the Ulysses panels. Flights of birds, especially of wild duck, very small in the distance, occur in all of these pictures.

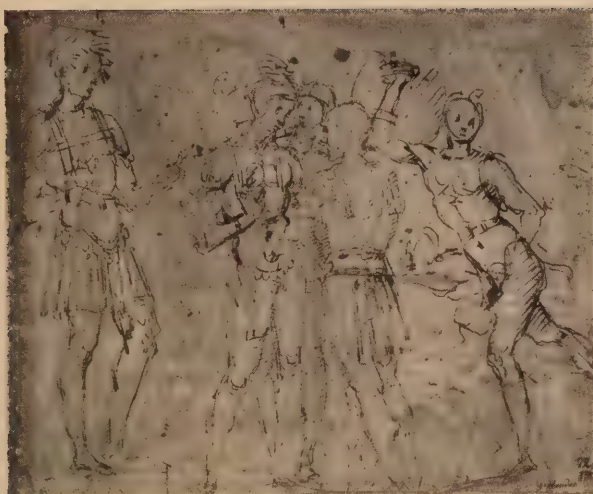


FIG. 3—STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM: DRAWING OF ROMAN SOLDIERS

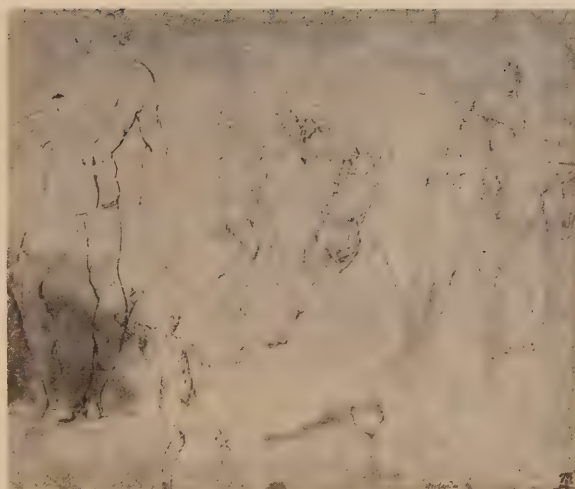


FIG. 4—STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM: DRAWING OF THE FLAGELLATION, WITH OTHER FIGURES



FIG. 5—NEW YORK, COLLECTION OF MR. STANLEY MORTIMER: CASSONE PANEL BY PIERO DI COSIMO. THE RETURN OF ULYSSES

It is with the Hunt and the Return from the Hunt, in the Metropolitan Museum, that our pictures may be most satisfactorily compared, since in both numerous episodes are depicted, the figures bulk large in the foreground, and the interest of the artist is as much in the study of the nude in action, and in the problem of foreshortening as it is in the actual narrative. Obviously both series date before the Leonardesque influence had modified the style of Piero and are more akin to the style of Verrocchio and Pollaiuolo. I am inclined to believe that ours is somewhat earlier than the Hunt and that it was made at the stage of the artist's career in which the Portinari altarpiece was exerting considerable influence upon his manner of painting. Hugo Van der Goes uses the same sparse, leafless trees, a few fleecy clouds, and rocky hills with jagged outlines. Piero may likewise have gained from the Portinari triptych something of his fine feeling for distance, his luminous atmosphere, and his love of detail. He also painted in oil, and the brush work of the Hunt, as well as the somewhat crackled appearance of the surface, is very like the Ulysses series.

Piero's method of painting hair as seen in the portrait of Giuliano da San Gallo is duplicated in the Ulysses pictures. In both instances the hair is painted with broad, decisive strokes, the locks are loose with curling ends and are rather ragged along the edges, giving an almost flame-like appearance. The eyes of the Laestrygonians are deeply set so that when they are wide open they have a Scopaic expression, but when partially closed they show heavy lids. This is the type seen in Simonetta and in the Death of Procris, as well.

To revert once more to the Hunt and the Return from the Hunt, the color scheme in dark warm browns and bright blues with ruddy tones for the bodies of the satyrs may be compared with the Ulysses panels. The same depth is noticeable in both, but with somewhat more detail in the latter, perhaps owing to the influence of the Flemish altarpiece. The lighting in the Metropolitan Museum pictures is slightly subdued with a little more feeling for atmospheric effect, an indication that these should be dated later than ours. Expert judgment has assigned them to the early nineties of the quattrocento.¹

As time went on Piero strove more and more for the subtle chiaroscuro of Leonardo da Vinci, so that by the time of the Andromeda series in the Uffizi, which Knapp dates between 1506 and 1508, the figures are on a small scale set in the midst of a smiling landscape, thoroughly charming, but quite unreal. In place of what might be called grotesque realism one observes in the later mythological pictures dainty figures tripping lightly over grassy fields, with a soft haze creeping over the distant hills, and one realizes that Vasari had some reason for saying that Piero adopted a new style for each new work. If the Metropolitan pictures are to be dated in the early nineties, it is probable that ours belong in the eighties not long after Piero's work in the Sistine Chapel. There may be an added significance too, in the fact that Signorelli was working in Florence at this time.

Interest in realism, figures in action, and foreshortening are common to the Metropolitan pictures and ours. The satyr wielding a club in the former shows almost exaggerated musculature and splendid action. The three Laestrygonians hurling rocks show varying positions and motions in a thoroughly convincing fashion with excellent play of muscles, especially in the backs. Realism is emphasized still further by the fact that a considerable amount of hair is indicated on the nude bodies. Polyphemus and the Laestrygonians wear shaggy loin cloths which are almost identical with the loin cloth worn by the man with the wild hog in the foreground of the Return from the Hunt.

Foreshortening is a problem which frequently occupies the attention of Piero di Cosimo. In the Hunt it is particularly evident in the dead man seen head-on at the

¹ *Burlington Magazine*, X, p. 335, n.

right of the picture and is noticeable again where the face of a man is seen peering over the edge of the rocks in the foreground of the companion panel. In our panels the unfortunate soldiers in the hands of the Laestrygonians and the half reclining Polyphemus show the same interest. The left hand and the right foot of Cyclops are considerably foreshortened and the toes are stubby at the ends with rather square toenails, not very different from the drawing of the feet of Procris save for a difference in proportions.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle and Michel attribute to Piero a considerable part of the Passage of the Red Sea in the Sistine chapel, where he went to assist Cosimo Rosselli in 1481. It is doubtful if so young an artist as Piero then was could have painted the distinguished portraits in the lower right corner. Nor does the hair of these figures seem to be rendered in the customary broad strokes, for the bareheaded elderly man has soft, short hair and an extremely stern expression. But the wounded man in armor on the plunging white horse and the two long-haired men in front of the horse, with the rest of the confused scene, are in keeping with Piero's style and in numerous details show analogies with the Ulysses series. The agonized expressions of some of the faces, especially the deep-set eyes, the contracted brows, and the wide-open mouths of certain figures, find their counterparts particularly in the scene where Ulysses is slaying the suitors, in the Mortimer Collection. A number of the profile heads in our panels are peculiar in that they have long, sharply pointed noses, high at the bridge. Some of the heads in the Passage of the Red Sea show this same characteristic, especially the profile head at the extreme left, which likewise bears Piero's trademark in the treatment of the hair. In the immediate foreground are two shiny, helmeted heads which might easily be mistaken for the helmeted head of Ulysses.

These panels, which relate with such vividness and variety the hardships of the crafty Ulysses, are quite in keeping with the style of Piero di Cosimo as evidenced in his earlier mythological subjects. While eclectic in that he was interested in current problems and was influenced in turn by the popular artists of his day and of all time, Piero was rarely equalled in power of invention or in originality of interpretation.



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3

ROME, PRIVATE COLLECTION: MADONNA FROM A CHURCH IN THE ABRUZZI

A Romanesque Madonna

BY ADÈLE COULIN WEIBEL

On perusing Mr. Arthur Kingsley Porter's monumental publication of *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* my thoughts went astray; how many volumes beside these nine or ten might be filled with those smaller and perhaps less important monuments that can yet be found, sometimes within a short distance of the great roads, living witnesses of the pious struggles of that fervent epoch! A few of these have been preserved intact, like the Rhetian churches of Mustair, Mustail, and Dissentis, with their queer wall paintings, and the small chapel of Mals in Tyrol, with its strange stuccoes, but most of them have succumbed to the vicissitudes of time. The extant movable objects owe their preservation largely to miraculous qualities: so we have Madonnas painted by St. Luke, or "acheiropoietae" not made by human hands, and sculptures renowned for healing power. Such monuments would often be carried about in triumphal procession and, perhaps we may say, the homelier they were, the more highly they were esteemed.

Fortunately, beside these "black Madonnas" a number of sculptures of the twelfth century have been preserved, carved in wood or stone, sometimes by real artists, more often by mere craftsmen. It is difficult to assign to these a definite place of origin, for they were often made to order or were otherwise acquired and carried away by wealthy pilgrims. Later times despised the "wooden" or "stony" images and relegated them to the sacristies, where nowadays they are discovered and, as a rule, are promptly taken to museums.

Lately there has been some discussion of a certain type of monuments, all representatives of which have been found in the environs of Rome. Three of these form a distinct group: the Madonna of Presbyter Martinus (Fig. 4)¹ found in the Duomo of Borgo San Sepolcro (formerly the church of the Camaldolense brothers) and now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin; the Madonna di Costantinopoli (Fig. 5)² in the parish church of Alatri; and a Madonna from a village church in the Abruzzi (Figs. 1, 2, and 3), now in a private collection at Rome. It is the last of these that I shall discuss in this paper. Each of the three is life-size and is carved out of a tree trunk, in the manner of the archaic Greek xoanon; and in each case the Madonna is seated, holding the Child straight in front of her.

Our Madonna was originally seated on a throne, which has disappeared together with the lower part of the drapery and the feet. She now measures 95 cm. and shows traces of the old polychromy and gilding in heavy *oro zecchino*. I have not been able to ascertain the kind of wood used (the Berlin Madonna is of poplar). She is clothed in a tunic, with long, close-fitting sleeves, and a mantle, which clings to her shoulders and merely forms a few hieratic folds from her knees downward. Her head is covered by a veil of thin material with a deep hem, falling in soft waves over her forehead and forming two deep pleats beneath her shoulders, almost like long curls. Her face is framed by heavy tresses, which accentuate its perfectly oval contour and cause a slight bending outward of the veil. It is a face of almost classic beauty, with its narrow forehead, straight nose with nervous nostrils, small mouth, round which an indescribable smile seems to hover,

¹Published by W. Bode, *Jahrbuch der Kgl. Preusz. Kunsts.*, 1888.

²Published by Gino Focolari, *L'Arte in Italia*, 1908.

and great, almond-shaped eyes. Our Lady is lost in deep thought, and although she holds the Child tenderly with both hands, she is not so much the loving mother as the mysterious "theotokos," the living throne of the Saviour of the world. For as such the Child is depicted, sitting upright, dressed in a long-sleeved, ample tunic which falls over His feet, and holding a book in His left hand, while His right is lifted in a gesture of blessing strangely mixed with teaching. His features are very expressive; the likeness to the mother is unmistakable, specially in the small, sweet mouth. His head is covered with short curls. Both figures may once have worn crowns, as in the Alatri example, where the mother wears the imperial Byzantine crown with the three-lobed lily and the Child wears a crown with a "gemmed" cross. Or they may have worn diadems, like that of the Virgin in the apse mosaic of S. Maria in Trastevere at Rome. As to the lost throne, it probably was similar to that of the Berlin Madonna, a semicircular chair, supported on either side by pillows, with low back and arm rests and a small footstool. Of the three sculptures in our group the Berlin Madonna is the most important, owing to an inscription on the throne which gives the name of the artist, Presbyter Martinus, and the date, 1199. Bode has pointed out that this artist probably belonged to the Tuscan school, which, even before the advent of the great Niccolò Pisano, in the last decades of the twelfth century, developed a tendency toward naturalistic representation, contrary to the more ornamental themes of southern Italian sculpture. But the monastic traditions exacted a closer adherence to the hallowed Byzantine type, the result being a strangely sublime grandeur, which even the best monuments of a later period never attained. Our Madonna stands between those of Berlin and Alatri. The treatment of her hair resembles that of the Madonna of Alatri, while the draperies, severely hieratic, are like those of the Berlin Madonna. But in beauty of feature our Madonna is superior not only to these, but to almost any Madonna of the twelfth century. So is the Child, in its archaic pose and simplicity and specially in its really individual facial expression. It is not merely a small-sized man, but a real child, although more spiritual, for it is the Lord and Saviour.

These Madonnas are the plastic prototypes of those painted by Cimabue. Their impenetrable calm, their hieratic pose, their golden thrones, the rich polychromy of their gowns, and the glitter of their jewelled diadems must have produced an overpowering impression on the pious multitude, like a real vision from Paradise.



FIG. 4—BERLIN, KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM:
MADONNA OF PRESBYTER MARTINUS.



FIG. 5—ALATRI (ABRUZZI), PARISH CHURCH:
MADONNA DI COSTANTINOPOLI

Roy Sheldon as Creator of Form

BY W. R. AGARD

What form is significant? Clive Bell is apparently content to say, that which arouses the aesthetic emotion. But this does not solve the problem; it merely states it.

In art, as in all vital processes, obscurantism flourishes when the functions of critic and creator are divorced. To discuss the problem of form apart from the actual creations is a sterile and academic exercise. How does the sculptor discover his forms? Where are they found? Why do they exercise their peculiar influence upon him and upon us? These are questions which I am going to attack in the company of a sculptor. Probably they cannot be answered to the satisfaction of either of us, but insight may be developed in the process.

Among young American sculptors who believe in understanding what they are doing, who hold that "bad art is bad intelligence," who insist on thinking of their work in intellectual as well as sensory terms, is Roy Van Auken Sheldon. Mr. Sheldon, a native of Missouri and a graduate of Amherst College in 1919, is a pupil of Paul Landowski, Henri Bouchard, and Antoine Bourdelle. Three years' study in Paris, Florence, and Vienna have borne fruit in his Arkansas War Memorial (Figs. 1 and 2). With the artist's aid I have tried to analyze the process of its creation.

"In the beginning was the Logos;" first, the Idea. This was to be a war memorial. It was to represent intelligence allied with force, fighting. Mr. Sheldon decided to do a figure of Pallas Promachos (Athena With Us), which would at once possess a traditional sanction and literary association helpful in stimulating the required emotion. Then the main problem arose: what arrangement of lines, what relation of masses in bronze, could most directly and forcibly suggest this idea, most subtly and permanently induce and fortify the emotions aroused by it?

"I found a monumental model," says Mr. Sheldon, "and worked with her for eight months, always with my idea in mind, looking for poses that would stimulate and satisfy it. It was a search among a thousand possible relationships for just the right scheme, the necessary set of forms."

How the figure, as Mr. Sheldon finally cast it, realizes the idea, can be felt by seeing the monument, and partially understood by analyzing it. The figure is a solidly set triangular mass, the severe base formed by coarse drapery between the forward-planted left leg and the firmly planted right one; the apex is the helmet, cleaving the air from an eager, tense head. The body, seen from the side, forms an S-curve, with the pliancy and resilience of a bow; the right arm is thrust back, and the hand grips an enormous spear, poised horizontally; the left arm, at the side, holds a circular shield.

Strength, poise, power, all are realized in this figure. In addition, the sculptor wished to suggest a certain sort of motion. I say suggest; indication, not illusion, was desired. In Mr. Sheldon's words, "the drapery must be well frozen, so as to fool no one optically." So this drapery of the Pallas, as well as the sweep of muscles and sinews and spear, gives the eye the thrill of movement, but movement so balanced, so well coördinated, that a total unity is achieved; the eye moves, but in fulfillment, not distraction.

A figure of such robust strength and muscular power is material obviously taken from nature, from a model which Mr. Sheldon was fortunate enough to discover in Vienna. But the adaptation of this figure to his sculptural purposes was a matter of intellectualization.

The curve of the body, the relation of the bold curve to the horizontal spear, the sweep of the drapery, all these formal effects were chosen by the sculptor to arouse and satisfy his own sense of concentrated force, of decisive energy. Why are those particular relations of masses and volumes so potent? We must ask the biologist and psychologist for an explanation. The reply will be that we are human organisms so constituted that we crave certain symmetrical adjustments, elastic poise, well coördinated movement without strain; furthermore, that our mind delights in creating unity from subtly varied elements, and in building its own rich three-dimensional world from the thin two-dimensional data of sense. These faculties of body and mind were taken account of in this piece of sculpture; its appeal was planned.

Significant sculpture must also be concerned with the structural relation of the figure to its environment, as well as with its own structure. Pallas Promachos is a figure nearly twice life-size, designed to go on a terrace at the junction of principal streets; she will be mounted only three feet high, the thirty feet of the terrace giving the elevation; and the spear, which might be harsh on a flat perspective, will be broken by trees.

This relation of group to environment is an architectural one which has especially concerned Mr. Sheldon, as it has others of our American sculptors. He is now working on a colossal, thirty-foot-high monument to the Spirit of American Youth. It is to be adapted for a city square, against the high, jagged lines of modern buildings. It represents a modern Saint George, a nude youth, his left hand resting on a triangular shield, the right gripping a high perpendicular lance. At the base are four free figures representing the four branches of the National Service. This is sculpture consonant with modern architecture, towering high, silhouetted against the vista of street and the window-spotted walls, the lance a piercing spire.

Mr. Sheldon is experimenting with other monumental designs, notably a Pietà, "In the Shadow of the Cross." Of this he has made a compact and concentrated design, in which two figures form a superb support for the inert body.

His most impressive finished work is a series of heads. Here, again, he insists that sculpture shall not tell too much of a story, but shall centralize on a few important formal relations. "Crowded heads are to me the disease of modern portraiture," he says. "The smallest things should play true to the principles of modern sculpture, be large in conception and treatment." This principle can be applied to the heads of Sappho, Mrs. S, "Crépuscule," and John Angus Burrell (exhibited at the Salon d'Automne, 1923), where capable generalization has made not mere portraits, but creations of form. Hair has a structural rather than a naturalistic value; nuances of cheek modelling are subordinated to sharply defined plane areas; the eyes are treated with Greek restraint. As in heads by Mestrovic, Bourdelle, and others of the moderns, the technique favors geometric schematization, and is equally alien to the naturalism of Houdon and the impressionism of Rodin.

For all his love of theorizing and his efforts to construct work intellectually sound, Mr. Sheldon is far from being a pedant. He has ventured out with a seeing eye and a robust mind to meet life as it is lived, in the open air, and states his faith blithely: "Given Nature, Moore's 'great mother of detail,' and the artist's human individuality, either he attempts to reproduce as closely as possible her harmonies of cloud, dust, light, trees, flesh, and blood, or he trusts his own taste and creates a harmony within his means. The first is an utter impertinence, the latter, the business of the artist. I make what I want, and am concerned only with its beauty. Most sculpture seems to me to demand the free air, light, and rain, and I try to mount it so it will have a decorative if not otherwise useful place in the universe."



FIG. 1



FIG. 2

ARKANSAS WAR MEMORIAL: PALLAS PROMACHOS. BY ROY SHELDON

REVIEWS

SARDINIAN PAINTING, VOL. I, THE PAINTERS OF THE GOLD BACKGROUNDS. BY GEORGIANA GODDARD KING.
BRYN MAWR NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS, V. NEW YORK, LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO., 1923. \$2.00.

Miss King has achieved so much in this book that it is a pity she has not achieved more. She has here given to the world the first volume of the first comprehensive history of Sardinian painting written according to modern methods of critical investigation and with the accumulation of knowledge gained by recent research into the evolution of art; but she has partially failed to make the results of her labor final and definitive. The defects are not seated in the content of the book but in the mode in which the content is presented. Before indicating these defects the reviewer finds a more agreeable duty in pointing out some of the eminent virtues that Miss King has displayed.

As a friendly rival of hers once remarked, it has ever been one of her qualities to have had the intuition, foresight, and initiative to have anticipated others in those new fields in which artistic interest was to find fresh pabulum. She was one of the first Americans to turn to Spain and to study the art of the country when it was no easy task of travel to search out the monuments in their remote hiding places. She was also one of those who blazed the trail among the artistic discoveries of the "Way of St. James." And now she leads us from Catalonia across the sea to a new province of æsthetic study and delight, Sardinia. Surely no one was better prepared to be our guide. Thoroughly conversant not only with Spanish but also with Italian painting (by a constant intercourse of twelve and twenty-four years respectively, as she tells us in her preface), she possessed just the proper qualifications of erudition for examining and describing the art of an island that looked for its inspiration to both countries. If one did not know it already, one could read between the lines even of this small volume that her heart is now rather in Spain than in Italy; and it is pleasant to have so convinced a lover of Spanish painting discuss the pictorial production of Sardinia, where during the period treated, from the thirteenth through the sixteenth century, the most significant æsthetic influence was Catalan. What remains of Sardinian fresco of the thirteenth century (at Saccargia) resembles the great apsidal paintings of northeastern Spain. In the fourteenth century the art took on a Pisan-Sienese character, but so, for that matter, did the painting of Barcelona and Valencia themselves, and Miss King does not neglect to emphasize the Spanish note in the island at this period. During the quattrocento Sardinia became definitely one of the subdivisions of the Catalan and Valencian artistic domain. The Italian influence, which meanwhile had flickered almost to extinction, reasserted itself in Sardinia under the spell of the full Renaissance of the sixteenth century, combining with lingering Spanish traits rather than obliterating them. Perhaps in all this development the author, with her Iberian sympathies, stresses somewhat too insistently the debt to Catalonia. Certain it is that she makes too much of indigenous Sard traits. The conservatism and the cult of splendor, the sensitiveness and the intensity of religious feeling, which on pp. 192 ff. she enumerates as essentially native characteristics, are quite as typical of the painting of eastern Spain.

Miss King has proved herself equal to the task of analyzing, interpreting, and co-ordinating all this material. She has studied almost every example of Sardinian painting on the spot, and she has observed keenly. Only a few does she know merely in photograph

—when, for instance, they have strayed so far, for a devotee of Mediterranean lands, as the Virgin in the Corporation Gallery of Birmingham, England. The monuments and the several masters are arranged in correct groupings and tendencies, and are properly correlated with the evolution of painting on the Spanish mainland. When she ventures attributions, she guesses brilliantly and may even carry conviction. One is almost persuaded by her happy thought of assigning to a Spanish *atelier* the enthroned St. Anthony at Fenway Court, Boston, which hitherto has been ascribed to the Florentine trecento; and the attribution of the justly celebrated and hauntingly mystic St. George in the Cabot collection, Barcelona, to one of the best Catalan painters who worked in Sardinia during the second half of the fifteenth century, Joan Figuera, is alluring enough to be definitely accepted. She also generalizes well, as when on p. 132 she summarizes the characteristics of the Sardinian quattrocento. The value of the work is further enhanced by that linking of the artistic development with the political and cultural history which must to-day be demanded of any serious study of painting, sculpture, or architecture. The first forty-five pages are devoted wholly to Sardinian history and civilization, with special reference to the infiltration of Catalan domination, and there is constant allusion to these matters in the later sections that concern themselves more particularly with the painting. The book, however, is more than an archæological treatise, for Miss King is not slow to discern and expound the intrinsic beauty that undeniably attaches to the finest pictorial creations of Sardinia and justifies a journey to the island for purely æsthetic reasons, a beauty compounded of that same curious fusion of formal design, richness of decoration, intensity of sentiment, and realism of detail which distinguishes the painting of eastern Spain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Despite this æsthetic sensitiveness, however, and despite the ability with which she has collected and disposed her facts, she discourages from the first the reader who is in search of a lucid exposition of the subject. She cultivates a preciousness of method and style that again and again results in obscurity (an obscurity that is not assisted by the generally poor quality of the illustrations). The pages are difficult enough for the student who is somewhat versed in Spanish and Italian history and art; to the less fortunate they must often prove so baffling as to inspire a hope for another book, which, while utilizing the results of Miss King's researches, will set forth the story of Sardinian painting with simple clarity. The worst of it is that, since she can write plainly when she so desires, there is apparently a certain perversity, here and in former works of hers, in the choice of such a mode of presentation. In reviewing her book called *The Play of the Sibyl Cassandra*,¹ I have already expressed my regret that she sometimes sacrifices intelligibility in expression to the effort to be piquant, and I have especially referred to her habit of resorting to enigmatical marginal captions. In the present work she exaggerates the common modern practice of suggestion, rather than direct statement, of an idea. The introductory historical survey, for instance, is particularly vitiated by vague allusion based on a false assumption of complete knowledge on the part of her readers. From many examples of perplexing marginal captions, one may single out the "Stampace" on p. 48, which, it is afterward learned, refers to a school of painters in this suburb of Cagliari, or the "Struck of a heap in American" on p. 92 in explanation of a word of the Sardinian dialect. The additional information which, according to her frequent custom, she places in the captions is often clouded with a purposed mystery: so, "Mussolini scatters them 1923," on p. 46; "Or in Boston, Mass.," on p. 50, referring to the Catalan fresco in the

¹*The Art Bulletin*, V (1922), 1, p. 24.

Museum of Fine Arts; "Include Murillo's and Goya's," on p. 58, alluding to the Spanish composition of central figures of saints with flanking scenes from their legends; "An earlier mission to Valencia," on p. 111, suggesting the possibility of a journey of Jan van Eyck to the east coast of Spain; and "A week-long feast Jan. 20-27," on p. 140, hinting darkly, in connection with the dating of a picture, at the Sardinian celebration in honor of Sts. Sebastian and Julian which she has mentioned before. Instead of mystifying us, in such cases, she should rather have elucidated her meaning and woven the explanation into the body of the text. Instead of using these captions at all, she would have done well to have introduced both a division into chapters with titles and a system of subheadings at the beginning of the various sections within the chapters. Our final petition, indeed, to Miss King is that in the volume which she promises on later Sardinian painting she refrain from impairing her fine scholarship by shadowy stylistic flourishes which, if she will, she can easily avoid.¹

Chandler R. Post

LES IVOIRES GOTHIQUES FRANÇAIS. BY RAYMOND KOECHLIN. 3 VOLS., 231 PLS. PARIS, AUGUSTE PICARD, 1924. 350 FRANCS.

Connoisseurs have for many years awaited with impatience the publication of this monumental work; and now that it has appeared, it has deceived their expectations only by far exceeding them. A quarter of a century has M. Koechlin labored in this field. As President of the Société des Amis du Louvre and Director of the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, he has had rare opportunities for contact with experts and collectors, and his personal qualities have made him friends throughout the world. A patient, unflagging pursuit of the material, a true instinct, a delicate taste, and a profound love of beauty have produced a work which even in a land where scholarship and æsthetic charm have often blended stands among the greatest.

This book on the French Gothic ivories is not a book with a thesis, and, though it may therefore lose something in notoriety, it gains much in the amplitude of its treatment and the serene impartiality of its judgments. One is particularly delighted to find that the extreme nationalism which in art criticism takes the form of claiming priority or provenance for one's own country in every possible case, does not poison the air of M. Koechlin's Gothic chapel. Beauty and truth are for him holier than the jealousies of competing nations. For that very reason his work is a greater glory to France.

To every phase of the subject M. Koechlin does full justice. The origin of the elephant tusks, the routes of transportation, the methods of carving, the names and social status of the carvers, the craft guilds, the original prices of ivories, their forms, their relation to other types of sculpture, modern forgeries—each of these matters is treated with completeness, good judgment, and fine taste. Add to these the abundance of the references, the fulness of the bibliography, and the fine collection of heliotype plates: there is nothing more one could desire.

¹The reviewer has noted a few verbal errors. Meloria, not "Melora," is the place that gave the name to the Pisan defeat mentioned on p. 23. Is "parocco" on pp. 141 and 153 Sardinian for *parroco*? Like most modern critics, Miss King slips when she speaks of ecclesiastical vestments: the clergy, for the choir offices, do not wear albs (p. 149) but surplices. Nor is it to be hoped that the sculptor Montañés (p. 180) will ever be spelled or accented rightly in a book written in English. August L. Mayer's *Geschichte der spanischen Malerei* and the *Guide to Sardinia* published by the Italian Touring Club (1918), with its excellent introduction on the life, history, and art of the island, should have been included in the bibliography.

When a book of this eminence, containing over a thousand quarto pages of text and 230 plates costs in America between \$18 and \$19, every American library and lover of mediæval art should possess a copy. I therefore believe that to summarize the various sections and to record through several pages my humble endorsement of M. Koechlin's authoritative conclusions would be a waste of the reader's time and of the valuable space of *The Art Bulletin*. It may be of use, however, to note a few points in the field of secular iconography where I believe M. Koechlin has gone astray.

He expresses strong doubts (vol. I, 504-7) regarding my identification of two subjects, usually found together on secular caskets of the composite type—identifications which I published in *Art in America*, V, 19. One he cannot accept as Galahad receiving the keys of the Castle of Maidens, on the ground that in a similar casket in the Trivulzio Collection this scene is found juxtaposed to scenes of which Lancelot and Gawain are the supposed heroes; and he demands, "*Est-il vraisemblable que Galahad, un bien petit seigneur, marche de pair avec ces illustres personnages?*" Far from being an insignificant gentleman, Galahad is the supreme hero of the most popular combination of mediæval prose romances—the *Lancelot-Graal*. Speaking of the division in which Galahad figures M. Pauphilet says: "*Ce livre subtil et artiste participe à la célébrité du Lancelot, auquel il était lié.*" Galahad was unquestionably familiar to every reader of romances as the knight who accomplished the highest adventure of the Grail, in which both Gawain and Lancelot failed. M. Koechlin's challenge to my interpretation is based on a misconception of the importance of Galahad among Arthurian heroes.

The other subject frequently found together with Galahad's Arrival at the Castle of Maidens I identified as Enyas and the Wodehouse (pl. 220). I believe M. Koechlin would have withdrawn his objection (vol. I, 505-7) if he had seen the illuminations on which I based my contention. For the subject of the illuminations and of the ivories is obviously the same. In both we have the wodehouse or *homme sauvage* in his shaggy pelt bearing off a damsel; in both we have the rescuing knight piercing the wodehouse with sword or spear. Only the beard of the rescuing knight, visible in the *Smithfield Decretals*, fails to appear on the ivories. This may show that the carver did not realize that it was an essential part of the story that the rescuer should be old, but when M. Koechlin urges that the omission of any signs of age in the rescuer proves that we have in the ivories a different story from that in the MSS., I cannot follow him. Even less can I follow him when he urges that because this wodehouse scene appears in the so-called casket of the Académie interwoven with other wodehouse scenes which obviously have nothing to do with the story of Enyas, therefore we should look for the true subject on this casket and not in the illuminations of contemporary MSS. I am as certain now as when I wrote my article for *Art in America* that the Académie casket is an "iconographical hodgepodge," in which certain traditional *motifs* appear, to be sure, but so distorted and jumbled that its authority is nil. The proof lies in the carver's treatment of the Perilous Bed scene. Contrast what he has depicted with what is called for by the very lines M. Koechlin quotes on pp. 492 f. There is no authority in the text for the two lions, for the birds falling from the tree, and above all for the placing of the scene outside instead of inside the castle. None of the other scenes illustrate clearly any literary source. This casket is, in biological language, a "freak." As a guide to the interpretation of the combat between the knight and the *homme sauvage* it cannot compare with the two series of contemporary illuminations from the *Smithfield Decretals* and the *Taymouth Horae*. Only a label, it seems to me, could furnish better proof than these MSS. that the scene on the ivories represents Enyas and the wodehouse.

I should like here to propose a substitute for the symbolic antithesis between the wodehouse scene and the Galahad scene which I worked out in my article for *Art in America* (V, 26). Assuming a number of confusions, I suggested wildly that a contrast was intended between the ungrateful damsel, who does not appear on some of the ivories illustrating the story of Enyas and the Wodehouse, and the grateful maidens of the castle, who do not appear at all in any ivory representing Galahad's Arrival at the Castle of Maidens. The contrast is obviously much simpler: just as Tristan and Ysolt, representing carnal love, are contrasted on these caskets with the unicorn, symbol of virginity, so the wodehouse, the mediæval "cave man," is contrasted with Galahad, the virgin knight.

The Perceval casket (no. 1310, pls. 223-4, vol. I, 513-6) M. Koechlin, like everybody else including myself, has regarded as an illustration of Crestien's *Conte del Graal* or *Perceval*. I believe we were all mistaken. Certainly the carver followed a version very close to Crestien's; but he diverges in two features, and both can be shown to accord with separate and more primitive traditions. One must realize that Crestien was not one of half a dozen who told the story of Perceval: he was one of hundreds. Most of those Breton and French *raconteurs*, who wandered from castle to castle and from fair to fair, wherever French was understood, had in their repertoires a story of Perceval. The casket twice represents the hero carrying two javelins, whereas Crestien explicitly states (as I pointed out in my article, *Romanic Review*, VIII, 207) that he carried one. Now this discrepancy would naturally be ascribed to a carver's independence or carelessness if it were not the custom of the Welsh and Irish heroes to carry two javelins and if Perceval's story were not certainly of Welsh derivation. Still one might attribute this fact to coincidence if there were not another difference between Crestien and the casket in which the latter again seemed based on an independent tradition. Prof. Brown in *Modern Philology*, XVI, 554 f., showed that in three forms of the romance, the English *Sir Percypelle*, the German *Parzival*, and the Welsh *Peredur*, the hero meets in the forest three of Arthur's knights whereas Crestien says that he met five. Now, as one may see in Koechlin's pl. 223, the ivory carver agrees with the non-Crestien tradition. Possibly the craftsman might have diverged twice from Crestien through carelessness: but it is almost unthinkable that in both cases he should have hit upon variants which had traditional support. Now Crestien himself claims no originality for his story, but asserts that he has put into rhyme the *conte del Graal* of which Philip of Flanders had lent him the book. It was probably just such another book which the carver of the Perceval casket followed.

Perhaps the existence of many such variants of the stories found in Crestien explains also the order of episodes on the back of the composite type of casket (see vol. I, 492). The confusion, which M. Koechlin attributes to the designer's craving for symmetry, may be due to a lost romance in which the episodes followed the same order as in the casket. First, the hero, approaching the Other World, encounters a lion; then he crosses the Sword Bridge; next, within the castle, he endures the test of the Perilous Bed; and finally he is greeted by the lady of the castle and her maidens. Nevertheless the Irish tale which lies closest to the source of this adventure—the testing of Cuchulinn in Cu Roi's castle, recounted in *Bricriu's Feast*—makes the shower of missiles precede the combat with the monster; and the Economos casket, reproduced on pl. 218, depicts a lion's head in the Perilous Bed scene, as if the lion combat and the Perilous Bed episodes were connected as in Crestien. After all, the change in the order of scenes, as well as the introduction of the shower of missiles into the Sword Bridge scene, may best be explained on M. Koechlin's hypothesis, a desire for symmetry.

It may not be out of place to remark that, although neither the ivory carvers nor the romancers on whom they drew detected the meaning of these adventures, we can. A series of recent discoveries has left me without a doubt that the hero, whether Lancelot or Gawain, is the young sun-god, the Other World is the sky, the missiles are the lightnings hurled at him by the sun-god whom he has come to supplant, and the mistress of the castle is the goddess of the flowers. The rescue of Guinevere by Gawain, carved on the Modena portal (*The Art Bulletin*, VI, pl. XXIII), was a variant of the same fundamental myth. These wild claims I hope to prove beyond a peradventure in a book I am preparing on Arthurian origins.

Finally, a word regarding the Gotha casket (no. 1312): I cannot share M. Koechlin's doubts regarding the nature of the scenes it presents. The knight pursuing a Saracen is a stock *motif* in the borders of contemporary MSS.; the lady tilting is also to be found. The reason why Gaston Paris failed to identify the literary source of this casket is that there is none.

To sum up, M. Koechlin feels less certain than I do concerning some points in this fascinating field of the secular ivories: that is all. That he without being a specialist in the romantic literature of the period should have adopted none of the many false identifications that have been proposed is a singular evidence of his discrimination and judgment.

Roger Sherman Loomis

E. M. W. TILLYARD. *THE HOPE VASES: A CATALOGUE, AND A DISCUSSION OF THE HOPE COLLECTION OF GREEK VASES, WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON THE HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION, AND ON LATE ATTIC AND SOUTH ITALIAN VASES.* CAMBRIDGE (ENGLAND), UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1923. x, 179 pp., 43 pls. £4, 4s.

This is considerably more than a mere catalogue of vases. As a catalogue, it comes as close to the ideal as anything that has passed through this reviewer's hands for some time. Every important vase is illustrated, and for each, where it exists, a complete bibliography is given. We should be better off for more catalogues like it.

The book is the result of many years of labor. In 1914, when this reviewer had the privilege of meeting Mr. Tillyard in Rome, he had been at work on it for some time, and it was hoped that it would appear within the year, or, if not then, within the next two years. Then the war broke out; Mr. Tillyard entered the service of his country, and the work was indefinitely postponed. During the war—in 1917, to be exact—the Hope Collection was sold at Christie's; and this further delayed the appearance of the book. After the Armistice, after having served with great distinction throughout the war, Mr. Tillyard took up the work once more; and with a conscientiousness which cannot be sufficiently praised, he ran down the present location of nearly every vase in the collection. Needless to say, this adds immensely to the importance and value of his work.

In the introduction a brief, but complete, history of the collection is given. In this connection, it cannot but be a source of regret to students of vases that so many of the vases published in the Tischbein plates must now definitely be given up for lost. While the *Sale Catalogue* of 1917 indicated that only a part of the Tischbein vases were included in the collection, this reviewer, at least, always hoped that more would prove to be in the collection when this catalogue appeared. This hope has been partly fulfilled; but many of the Tischbein vases were lost at sea, when H. M. S. "Colossus" went down off the Scilly Isles in 1798.

Perhaps the greatest contribution to our knowledge of vases is made by the admirable sections of the introduction devoted to the Late Attic and South Italian styles.

This seems the best part of the book, and the best, if not the only, proper treatment in English of this altogether too little studied subject. It is very much to be hoped that some day Mr. Tillyard may enlarge and amplify these sections into a monograph, or article, in a form more readily accessible to students than this book, which, owing to its limited edition and prohibitive price, cannot be easily referred to. But teachers of Greek art and archæology in our universities will find here exactly what they have been wanting for some time: an authoritative, correct, and up-to-date discussion in English of the later Attic red-figured technique and the various South Italian styles, to which they may refer their students. The best service which Mr. Tillyard could do to classical archæology now would be to republish this part of his catalogue in an amplified, cheaper, and more convenient form.

Like every student of vases, Mr. Tillyard cannot fail to be much influenced by the work of his compatriot, Mr. J. D. Beazley; and, indeed, on nearly every page we find some reference to his obligations to Mr. Beazley for advice, suggestions, and help. With his customary unselfishness, Mr. Beazley has given Mr. Tillyard liberally of his own material for publication; and, as a result, thanks to him, as well as to the author of the book, five new masters must be added to the lists given in Mr. Beazley's *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums* and Dr. Hoppin's *Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases*. Of these, the most important is the "Dionokles Painter," to whom Mr. Beazley assigns twenty-two vases, including nos. 93 and 107 in the Hope Collection. Then come the "Molkos Painter" (Mr. Tillyard's own identification), to whom he gives seven vases, including Hope 139; the "Naples Komos Painter" (identified by both scholars), with six vases, including Hope 117 and 138; and the "Painter of Hope 97" and the "Marlay Painter," with three vases each, Hope 120 being by the latter hand. Mr. Beazley also adds five more vases, on page 84, to his original list of works by the "Pothos Painter," which now includes six of the Hope vases (nos. 140-145). Fifteen of the painters previously identified by Mr. Beazley and others are represented in this collection with one example each; two (the "See-Saw Painter" and the "Villa Giulia Painter") with two each; and one (the "Nikias Painter") with three.

The South Italian vases are catalogued according to the theories advanced in the introduction; and, for the convenience of those who cannot study the book itself, the classes are here given: "South Italian Imitations of Greek" (nos. 202-205); "Early South Italian" (206-214); "Lucanian" (215-227); "Lucano-Apulian" (228-229); "Early Apulian" (230); "Apulian" (231-259, including one doubtful vase); "Early Paestum" (260-263); "Paestum" (264-282); "Cumae" (283-311); "Saticula" (312-314); "Doubtful Campanian A" (315-322); "Doubtful Campanian B" (323-324); "Doubtful Campanian C" (325-328); "Doubtful Campanian D" (329). It might be said, in connection with this part of the book, that the importance of the Paestum vases is properly emphasized, as never before in English, while the division of the vases heretofore usually classed together as Campanian, into the "Cumae," "Saticula," and "doubtful" classes, should tend toward greater precision in the future in the study of these most perplexing wares.

With all its many virtues there remain a few things in the book to criticise. There are indications that the proof was hastily read and references not always carefully checked. The following mistakes have been noted (a careful search might possibly reveal more; but this reviewer was not hunting for them). On p. 31, n. 5, read 1916 instead of 1918; p. 43, no. 65, the reference is Coghill, pl. 35, 2, not 1; p. 86, no. 144, the reference to the *Sale Catalogue* is 72, not 12; p. 90, no. 149, the reference to Tischbein is I, pl. 17, not 7;

p. 99, no. 165, the reference to Tischbein is vol. II, not vol. III; and p. 160, no. 312, the reference to Tischbein is 15, not 151. These, of course, are minor mistakes, and, while they tend to confuse the student, they do not substantially impair the value of the book.

But the most glaring fault is the inadequacy of the indexing. The meticulously excellent work of Dr. Hoppin in this regard has spoiled students for anything less good. In this catalogue Mr. Tillyard is dealing with a collection which has been dispersed. Praiseworthy as it was for him to run down as far as possible the present whereabouts of these vases, he should have gone one step further and added an Index of Museums and Collections. An Index of Publications would also have been most useful, and should have been provided. The lack of these indices detracts from our ability to use the book with ease as a work of reference and hurts it in every way. Moreover, the index provided is a jumble, subjects, painters, inscriptions, and names referred to in the text being grouped together, instead of being separated in the orderly and methodical manner that Dr. Hoppin employs.

Another criticism, which, I fear, could not be remedied, lies in the price. It is a sad criterion on modern conditions that the price of this book places it out of the reach of the very persons who could most profitably use it—the underpaid university teachers and their equally impecunious students—while its strictly limited edition makes it difficult to obtain and refer to. It is for this reason that this reviewer has ventured to suggest that Mr. Tillyard would do well to reprint and amplify his sections on the vases of Southern Italy in a cheap, handy, and readily accessible form, available to all who are interested. For Americans, after the customs duty is added, this book, originally expensive enough at four guineas, becomes \$33.50, which is impossible for most of us.

No book is perfect. It is because this book is so nearly so, and so full of important new material, that this reviewer has ventured to make what few adverse criticisms he has made. Mr. Tillyard is heartily to be congratulated upon having approached so near to the ideal for which he was striving—the perfect, faultless, vase catalogue. But let us finish this review with the words with which we began: it is not merely a catalogue; it is considerably more.

Stephen Bleecker Luce

INHALTS-PROBLEM UND KUNSTGESCHICHTE. BY C. PETRANU. 8°, 166 PP. VIENNA, VON HALM & GOLDMANN 1921.

MUZEELE DIN TRANSILVANIA, BANAT, CRISANA SI MARAMURES.¹ BY C. PETRANU. 8°, 228 PP., 101 FIGS., MAP. BUCHAREST, CARTEA ROMANEASCA, 1922.

The most important work of a rising young Roumanian art historian is represented in the two books here grouped for review. Dr. Petranu has also to his credit a variety of periodical articles, the most important of which, published in *Viata Noua*, 1920, under the title *Critica artistică*, were his inaugural lectures at the University of Cluj (Klausenburg). His little book *Teatrul ca operă arhitectonică*, the fruit of a youthful enthusiasm, can be given but passing mention. He is now undertaking the first general history of art for Roumanian readers.

It is almost superfluous to say that Dr. Petranu is a product of Vienna. Since the seventeenth century, when with the aid of Jan Sobieski the wave of Turkish advance was broken on the walls of Vienna, the city has held a moral preëminence in southeastern Europe that has made it the intellectual capital of the Danubian countries gradually

¹Here, as throughout this review, I follow the practice of German writers and others in omitting the cedilla under the s, for our printers are unable to provide it.

detaching themselves from the Turkish empire. This detachment has in fact implied an attachment, at first voluntary, then forced, and finally repudiated, to the Hapsburg monarchy.

A native of Transylvania, where though of Roumanian blood he was formerly a Hungarian subject, Dr. Petranu has by natural inheritance that variety of languages and viewpoints that stimulates the intellectual life of eastern Europe. This is no place to elaborate and weigh the oft repeated prophecy that after an initial period of confusion the discordant hotbed of thought in eastern Europe will produce a more luxuriant crop than the worn fields of western Europe are capable of. Suffice it to mention this active and self-conscious intellectual movement. It explains the abundance and character of the publications emanating from this quarter. It explains the foundation and development of museums, periodicals, research institutes, and the like. It explains the organization and reorganization of governmental agencies for the tabulation and care of monuments. Roumania and Greece are making great efforts along these lines: witness, for example, the recent Byzantine Congress in Bucharest and the ambitious initiation of a topographical survey of the mediæval monuments of Greece. The significant thing to note about all this is that the impulse and plan, the method, and, as far as their training goes, the men come mainly from Vienna, not from Berlin or Paris, much less from London or Rome.

Inhaltsproblem und Kunstgeschichte belongs to the long series of monographs issued as *Arbeiten des kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Wien*, to which Strzygowski's monumental work on Armenian architecture belongs. Dr. Petranu has reworked and extended his doctoral dissertation, the substance of which appears in the first two of the three sections into which the book is divided. Professor Strzygowski has followed his favorite and generous practice of furnishing a short introduction.

In the first section of the book Dr. Petranu approaches the discussion of content from the point of view of philosophical and speculative æsthetics. In his discussion of ancient writers he makes the somewhat surprising identification of the slippery *ethos* of the Greeks with *content*, and thus establishes for the concept around which his book is built a proper pedigree. After a brief treatment of the French (and latterly Italian) æsthetics of expression and the English æsthetics of imagination, he passes to the consideration of the German æsthetics of intellect, in which last a major point of debate is the relation of form and content. The quotations from Goethe here introduced are very apt, as, indeed, are the numerous quotations from German writers on art throughout the book.

Dr. Petranu draws out at some length the contrast between the idealists, who consider form only a symbol, and the formalists, who maintain that in art it is only a question of *how* (form), never of *what* (content). The solution of this dualism in modern æsthetics is interestingly told. English readers might well turn to the dispute about "significant form" which has occupied so much space in the *Burlington Magazine*, but to which Dr. Petranu does not refer. He does, however, lay bare the heart of the matter in pointing out to how large an extent the varying use of many words for one meaning has unnecessarily complicated and confused the issues. Later he shows the other side of the pattern too by summarizing the varying uses and meanings of the ambiguous term *content*.

Classifying the points of view as three: first, that the æsthetic effect of art lies in form alone; secondly, that it lies in pure form as well as in content; and thirdly, that it lies only in content, of which form is merely a material rendition, Dr. Petranu declares himself essentially for the last, agreeing with Lipps on the unity of content and form and with Volkelt on the unfailing association of a content with every form. At this point in the book it might seem to a careless observer that the distinction between *Inhaltsproblem*

and *Formproblem* had broken down and that Dr. Petranu might be brought into agreement with the protagonists of form. Such is not the case. By a quick shift, analogous to that in Athanasianism, the duality of form and content is retained. Form and content are considered as united but not a unit. Dr. Petranu here reprints the familiar analytical diagram worked out by Strzygowski and already discussed at length in *The Art Bulletin*. Like Strzygowski he combats the idea that content is dependent on the observer and therefore too subjective to be of value in criticism. He considers it rather the expression of the soul (personality) of the artist and therefore of objective critical validity. The logic of all this is difficult.

Dr. Petranu himself seems to feel that the objectivity of content needs further confirmation. He introduces a great deal of material on expression—facial expression, mimicry, and the like. Thus in becoming objective his content inevitably becomes theme and form. In connection with the discussion of expression it would be salutary for American readers to notice how small and inconspicuous a place Freud occupies among his abundant *entourage* of theorizers. Here, as throughout the book, Dr. Petranu's industry in working through the literature commands respect.

The second section of the book consists of a discussion of ten eminent German art historians. Its purpose is to show that they all differentiated content as one of the prominent qualities of a work of art. This seems a bit forced since for the most part the genius of the writers chosen was synthetic rather than analytic. On the whole, the reader is impressed primarily with the long and virile tradition German scholars have behind them: Winckelmann, Rumohr, Waagen, Kugler, Schnaase, Burekhardt, Springer, Schmarsow, Justi, and Wölfflin are the men discussed. Even this imposing list gives a very imperfect picture, since notable figures like Semper, Wickhoff, Riegl, and Woermann, whose works express more or less explicit distrust of content as a basis of criticism, are not admitted to the survey. One cannot but envy too the detached and enlightened point of view which German criticism has enjoyed for a century. Rumohr (*Italienische Forschungen*, III, 153) disposed once for all of the question of the artist as critic: "*Wer denn hat ein Recht zu entscheiden, wo es das Allgemeine, das rein Menschliche gilt? Nicht der Zunftgenosse als solcher, wie hoch, wie niedrig er im Handwerke stehen möge, sondern der unbefangenste, reinste, besonnenste Mensch, möge er Künstler, möge er dem äusseren Berufe nach sein, was er ist.*"

The third section of the book contains suggestions for the study of a work of art and for the classification of artists. For Dr. Petranu, somewhat as for Carlyle or Emerson, the artist is a hero. With something of their vague enthusiasm too, he classifies artists according to their works as supermen, men, and less than men (mere products of their time). Here, as frequently, one feels that the thought of Dr. Petranu's book is of the nineteenth rather than of the twentieth century.

The reason for this lies in the purpose of the book, not to advance new theories but to summarize and restate those already advanced by others. Dr. Petranu is to be congratulated on having gleaned conscientiously from the past: that the kind of grain he has gleaned happened to be assiduously cultivated in the nineteenth century inevitably imparts the spirit of that century to his book.

Muzeele din Transilvania, Banat, Crisana si Maramures is of value as the first general account of the museums in the regions gained by Roumania in her recent westward expansion. Though the book was written mainly for home consumption it has material of more than local or ephemeral interest. That it is published in Roumanian is an obstacle to its reaching as wide a public as it should. Dr. Petranu has tried to get around this in part by

giving a French *résumé*, an excellent idea which we wish his Hungarian, Croatian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Slovak, Czech, and Polish neighbors—to mention only a few—would take note of and be induced to imitate. The *résumé* has now appeared in German also in the Strzygowski *Festschrift, Studien zur Kunst des Ostens*. But the reader who contents himself with the *résumé* will actually get very little of the book, since it is practically just a translation of only a small section, the introduction to Part II. It does not nearly do justice to the book as a whole nor give a sufficient suggestion of what is most interesting and important in the book, namely the description of each museum with a summary of its collections.

Of the four parts into which the book is divided the first is given to a general discussion of museums, their origin and development, their purposes and methods. Dr. Petranu sounds quite American, that is, Ruskinian, when he dilates on the democratic character of the modern museum and its moral uplift of the working classes. In his characteristically careful sifting of the literature he cites, though necessarily less freely than German or French publications, American and British writers. It is a pity, and doubtless due to the recent war's interruption in the circulation of ideas and publications, that he does not know Mr. Gilman's most valuable book, *Museum Ideals*, which it is to be hoped represents the purposes and methods of the American museum of the future better than does a protracted Ruskinism.

The second part of the book consists of a general introduction, mentioned above, to the museums of Transylvania, Banat, Crisana, and Maramures (Marmaros), followed by a careful account of twenty-seven separate museums. It is interesting to learn that Transylvania had a public collection, that of the Protestant gymnasium at Sibiiu (Hermannstadt), as early as 1446. The same town, a center of the German colonists in Transylvania, enjoys also the credit of having had the earliest Transylvanian museum in a modern sense, that of Baron Brukenthal, founded in the eighteenth century and opened to the public in 1817. This museum is characteristic of those of the whole region in being of German inspiration and not of governmental origin. In fact, the typical museum here is the property of a society or school, though it may receive more or less support from the state and be subject to the superintendence of a state official, the inspector general, who is at present Dr. Petranu.

The Brukenthal museum, because of its Dutch and Flemish pictures, is well known outside its own country. For the other museums the same cannot be said. Most of them are avowedly of local importance. But such an institution as the Batthyaneum at Alba-Iulia (Karlsburg) deserves the attention of outsiders for its splendid examples of mediæval illumination and its ecclesiastical relics. The National Museum of Transylvania at Cluj (Klausenburg), though now inadequately known abroad, will doubtless come into its own when the first item on Dr. Petranu's program as inspector general is carried out, namely, the erection of a suitable building for the collections, which are now mainly in storage.

In addition to this national museum in a governmental sense at Cluj there are national museums in a racial (partially also linguistic and religious) sense elsewhere. The mixture and rivalry of different elements in the population, which is so noticeable in other aspects of the culture of this battleground of peoples, has proved to be a considerable incentive to the development of museums, by which means this or that group has sought to preserve and nourish its traditions. The Brukenthal museum can be thus regarded as the national museum of the Saxons (as the Germans are called; they are in truth largely Franconians). The same town, Sibiiu, has likewise a kind of national museum of the Roumanians, that of the association for Roumanian literature and culture. Perhaps the

reader should be reminded that until the end of the recent war the national museum at Cluj was national from the standpoint of Budapest, not of Bucharest. Cluj having few Szeklers, their national museum is located at Sft. Gheorghe (Sepsi-Szent-György), one of their principal towns. That its chief importance should lie in its collection of pre-historic material, the famous neolithic Danubian band pottery, is one of the ironies of fate. The Armenians have their museum at still another place, Gherla (Szamos-Ujvár).

As our countrymen learned at Versailles, not only the people of this diverting and diverse part of the world are separatist, but the land itself is so. Alongside the museums of Germans, Roumanians, Szeklers are others representing the ambition of town or province to assert its individuality. For example, the much discussed diminutive Banat has its Banatean museum at Timisoara (Temesvár).

The third part of the book deals with the legal status of the inspectorship and of the museums now that they have passed from the Hungarian to the Roumanian administration. Along with this comes the question of Roumania's claim to objects transported to Budapest. The French *résumé*, some appendices, and a map of Roumania for visitors to the museums described complete the book.

Dr. Petranu is to be commended for having preserved throughout a fairness and moderation which must be very difficult to maintain where factional feeling runs so high. Only once does he perhaps unnecessarily wound the sensitive. The museum of the Szeklers at Sft. Gheorghe, built by Hüttl and Kos in 1912, owes its charming picturesqueness to the fact that it was intended to be itself an illustration of the architectural style of the Szeklers. Dr. Petranu denies that any such style ever existed.

In general he shows a very laudable enthusiasm for the great variety of purposes and methods of the museums under his inspection. And one remark, an extension of this same breadth of view backward across the centuries, throws an unexpected side light on what is now happening in America: "A Van Eyck, a Canaletto, having once belonged to a Transylvanian amateur are constituted witnesses to the past culture of his country." For the peace of soul of American collectors let us augur future Dr. Petranus.

John Shapley

GETTY CENTER LIBRARY



3 3125 00454 9784

